

VOL. V

PREPARATION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE  
BRITISH CONQUEST  
OF INDIA

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. IN 1687 THE ENGLISH E.I.CO. HOPED TO LAY THE FOUNDATION OF A LARGE, WELL-GROUNDED ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA FOR ALL TIME TO COME .....	4
2. THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY INVESTED WITH THE HIGHEST PREPOGATIVE OF SOVEREIGNTY FROM THE VERY BIGNNING BY THE STATE IN ENGLAND .....	5
3. DRAKE, CAVENDISH PIONEERS AND EXEMPLARS OF PLUNDER INSPIRE RECOURSE TO INDIA.....	6
4. THESE PEOPLE (INDIANS) ARE BEST TREATED WITH THE SWORD IN ONE HAND AND CADUCEAN IN THE OTHER WE HAVE IMPOVERISHED THE PORTS AND WOUNDED ALL THEIR TRADE THE ONLY DEPENDENCE WAS THE SAME GROUND UPON WHICH WE BEGAN, BY WHICH WE SUBSIST, FEAR - SIR THOMAS ROE TO HIS MASTERS IN ENGLAND c.1618.....	7
5. WITHOUT REVENUE DOMINION WOULD SOON FALL AND TRADE AFTER IT : JOSIAH CHILDE c. 1680s.....	13
6. EVERYTHING WAS TO GO ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, AND NONE SO OLD AS THEM PAYING OBEDIENCE TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL'S ORDER.....	15
7. EXPANSION OF BRITISH POWER IN THE INDIAN REGION UPTO AD 1708 .....	16
8. BRITISH STATE COMES TO AID OF E.I.CO. AGAINST FRENCH CHALLENGE c.1740s	19
9. ON CONFRONTATION WITH FRANCE c.1740s.....	21
10. E.C.CO. AND THE BRITISH STATE c.17th-18th C. ....	23
11. PRIME MINISTER NEWCASTLE ORDERS FULL RESPECT TO BRITISH FLAG AND SOVEREIGNTY.....	24
12. HALT TO WARFARE BETWEEN FRANCE AND BRITISH COMPANIES.....	25
13. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S REQUESTS FOR COMMISSION FOR SEIZING "PIRATES"..	26
14. ADMIRAL WATSON'S EXPEDITION TO INDIA: 1754.....	27
15. ROBERT CLIVE RETURNS TO INDIA AFTER BEING UNSEATED FROM BRITISH PARLIAMENT .....	28
16. ROBERT CLIVE TO R. DRAKE, BOMBAY JAN.31, 1756 .....	29
17. TAKING STOCK OF SHIPS AND SOLDIERS c. 1756.....	31
18. FURTHER REINFORCEMENTS FOR INDIA c. 1757 .....	33
19. VARIOUS CURRENT STORIES ON 1757 AND CLIVE .....	35

20. UNCERTAINTY OF MEER JAFFEIR'S SUPPORT : 21.6. 1757 .....	38
21. DIVISION OF PLUNDER MADE BY THE BRITISH IN BENGAL: 1756-7 .....	39
22. BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS HIGHLY COMMENDS ROBERT CLIVE TO E.I.CO.....	41
23. LORD HARDWICKE WRITES TO COL. CLIVE 11.11.1757 .....	42
24. WILLIAM PITT CALLS ROBERT CLIVE A HEAVEN-BORN GENERAL .....	43
25. CLIVE WRITES TO E.I.COMPANY CHAIRMAN AND ADVISES REWARD OF SERVICE IN INDIA TO BE AWARDED IN ENGLAND .....	44
26. THE MUGHAL SHAHZADA COMES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION AND WANTS TO BE PROCLAIMED EMPEROR.....	45
27. ROBERT CLIVE TO BRITISH PRIME MINISTER NEWCASTLE ON HIS TITLE: 13.10.1761 .....	47
28. CASSIM ALI KHAN TURNS HOSTILE c. 1760s .....	48
29. A BRITISH DEPENDANT IS PROCLAIMED MUGHAL EMPEROR c.1760s - EVIDENCE BEFORE BRITISH PARLIAMENT COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY .....	49

1. IN 1687 THE ENGLISH E.I.CO. HOPED TO LAY THE FOUNDATION OF A  
LARGE, WELL-GROUNDED ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA FOR ALL TIME TO  
COME

***The business of India was not merely trade, but a constant mixture of trade and warfare,  
fortification, military prudence and political government***

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Cambridge University Library: Sankey papers: MSS Eng. Hist. c. 538: ff 48r-48v; From Sir Walter R. Lawrence to  
Sankey, March, 1931; brother-in-law of Alfred Lord Trevelyan

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I have been reading up old history, and find that in 1687 the directors of the company hoped to lay the foundation "of a large, well-grounded, English dominion in India for all the time to come." Later about 1708, about the time of the Union of the two companies, they say "the business of India was not merely trade, but a constant mixture of trade and warfare, fortification, military prudence and political government." It is a small point, but it may interest you.

## 2. THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY INVESTED WITH THE HIGHEST PREPOGATIVE OF SOVEREIGNTY FROM THE VERY BIGNNING BY THE STATE IN ENGLAND

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THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, House of Commons, 10 July 1833

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It is a mistake to suppose that the Company was a merely commercial body till the middle of the last century. Commerce was its object; but in order to enable it to pursue that object, it had been, like the other Indian Companies which were its rivals, like the Dutch India Company, like the French India Company, invested from a very early period with political functions. More than 120 years ago, it was in miniature precisely what it now is. It was intrusted with the very highest prerogatives of sovereignty. It had its forts and its white captains, and its black sepoys - it had its civil and criminal tribunals - it was authorized to proclaim martial law - it sent ambassadors to the native governments and concluded treaties with them - it was zemindar of several districts and within those districts, like other zemindars of the first class, it exercised the powers of a sovereign, even to the infliction of capital punishment on the Hindoos within its jurisdiction. It is incorrect, therefore, to say, that the Company was at first a mere trader, and has since become a sovereign. It was at first a great trader and a petty prince. Its political functions at first attracted little notice, because they were merely auxillary to its commercial functions. Soon, however, they became more and more important. The zemindar became a great nabob, became sovereign of all India - the 200 sepoys became 200,000. This change was gradually wrought, and was not immediately comprehended. It was natural, that while the political functions of the Company were merely auxiliary to its commerce, its political accounts should be mixed up with its commercial accounts. It was equally natural, that when once this mode of keeping account had been commenced, it should go on; and the more so, as the change in the situation of the Company, though rapid, was not sudden. It is impossible to fix on any day, or any one year, as the day or the year when the Company became a great potentate. It has been the fashion to fix on the year 1765, the year in which the Company received from the Mogul a commission authorizing them to administer the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as the precise date of their sovereignty. I am utterly at a loss to understand why this period should be selected. Long before 1765 the Company had the reality of political power. Long before that year, they made a nabob of Arcot; they made and unmade nabobs of Bengal; they humbled the vizier of Oude; they braved the emperor of Hindoostan himself. More than half the revenues of Bengal, as Lord Clive stated, were under one pretence or another administered by them....

....In fact, it was considered, both by Lord Clive, and by Warren Hastings as a point of policy to leave the character of the Company thus undefined, in order that the English might treat the princes in whose names they governed as realities or nonentities, just as might be most convenient....

### 3. DRAKE, CAVENDISH PIONEERS AND EXEMPLARS OF PLUNDER INSPIRE RECOURSE TO INDIA

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Annals of the East India Company 1600-1798, 3 vols, 1810; by John Bruce, MP, FRS : extract, vol I, pp 108-9

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The wealth which these celebrated navigators. [Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish, etc.] brought to England in gold, silver, &c, though obtained by making prizes of the Spanish vessels, induced the merchants to form the opinion, that, great profits and national advantages might be acquired, by fitting out ships to follow a direct trade to India, and, by sales or purchases, to increase the commerce, and improve the navigation, of the realm; -- and, besides, that they might have the chance of making prizes from the portuguese and the Spaniards, which would defray, in part, the charges of the equipments.

**4. THESE PEOPLE (INDIANS) ARE BEST TREATED WITH THE SWORD IN ONE HAND AND CADUCEAN IN THE OTHER WE HAVE IMPOVERISHED THE PORTS AND WOUNDED ALL THEIR TRADE THE ONLY DEPENDENCE WAS THE SAME GROUND UPON WHICH WE BEGAN, BY WHICH WE SUBSIST, FEAR - SIR THOMAS ROE TO HIS MASTERS IN ENGLAND c.1618**

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W. Foster(ed): The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19, 1926; Extracts pp li, 475-480

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In the middle of February, 1618, Roe made his yearly report to the Company. By this time he had abandoned all hopes of securing the signature of a formal treaty; but he trusted to obtain all that was practically necessary. 'You can never expect to trade here upon capitulations that shall be permanent. Wee must serve the tyme. Some now I have gotten, but by way of firmaens and promise from the Kynge. All the goverment depends upon the present will, where appetite only governs the lords of the kingdome. But their justice --is generallie good to strangers; they are not rigorous, except in ssearching for things to please, and what trouble wee have is for hope of them, and by our owne disorders.' 'You shalbe sure,' he added emphatically, 'of as much priviledge as any stranger, and right when the subject dares not plead his.' With the Prince, now all-powerful ('his father growes dull and suffers him to write all commands and to governe all his kingdomes') the ambassador was on much better terms. The policy of 'adventuring the feirenes of his wrath' had answered so well that Roe was resolved, if necessary, to push matters boldly to an issue. It was useless to attempt to win the friendship of the Indians by kindly treatment; 'they are weary of us... Wee have empoverished the ports and wounded all their trades'; the only dependence was upon 'the same ground that wee began, and by which wee subsist, feare.' 'Assure yow,' he wrote, 'I knowe these people are best treated with the swoord in one hand and caducean in the other'; and if his demands were not complied with to his satisfaction, he intended to seize the Indian shipping 'and make those conditions bee offered which now I seeke with despayre.'

**ARTICLES PROPOSED TO THE PRINCE SULTAN CORONNE, LORD OF AMADAVAZ  
AND SURATT, BY THE [BRITISH] AMBASSADOR, UPON THE BREACH WITH THE  
PORTUGALLS, AUGUST 15, 1618.<sup>1</sup>**

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I.O. Records : O.C.No. 678.

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1. That the Prince had received the English nation into his protection and favour, and had concluded peace and ameticie with them, according to the command of the Great Kyng, and hereby doth give notice to all his Governor, Leiutenant and other officers of Suratt and all his other signories, to pu[b]lish the same and to obey it.

2. In consideration of this treaty, and that the Portugalls are common enemies to their peace and traficque, it shall be lawfull for the English to land with their armes and to pass with them for defence of their persons and goods; and if the sayd Portugalls should attempt any thing by sea agaynst the sayd English or the ships of the kyng and Prince, that then the Governors of Suratt should deliver to the English as many frigatts as they should need for their mutuall succour, and in all poynts of releeve and succour should assist them as frends and as the naturalls of these kyngdomes.

3. That it should bee lawfull for the English to buy or hyre any house in his ports, where they might quietly dwell and no man to disturbe or displace them; and therin house their goods sufficiently and safely; and that neyther Governor nor other officer should entermeddle neyther with them nor their goods, but, in case they were not or could not of them selves provide sufficient housing, that then the Governor should assist them and procure for them a safe and quiett habitation.

**Agreement With Khurram**

4. That the Governor of Suratt and other officers should receive and dispeed the English ambassador with honor and curtesie, and see him well housed during his stay in Suratt, and that he [be?] offered no force nor affront to him nor to any of his servants, but they might live, goe, and pass at their pleasure.

5. And if it should fall out that they could not agree with the owner for the house they now resided in, having paid mony before hand, the Governor should cause the remayner to bee repayd to the sayd English.

6. That it should bee lawfull for the sayd English to land any sort of goods and to relade, at their pleasure; and upon the land in any part to trade, traficque, buy and sell according to their owne will; and that the judges and officers of the *alfandicaes*, should not deteyne their goods

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<sup>1</sup> In Roe's own hand. Endorsed : 'Articles and treaty with the Prince, Amad., August, 1618.' The occasion of the 'breach with the Portugalls' is not clear, but possibly it arose from the dispute described in the Surat letter quoted later (p. 485). From this it would appear that the Indians for a time resisted the payment claimed for the cartaz of the Gogo junk, and 'made greate shew off warrs.'



longer then to take account and to agree for customes as by former treaty, and therin should give them dispatch, and in no sort nor upon any pretence should stay or take by force or deteyne any of their goods contrarie to the owners will, nor should doe them any injurie or violence whatsoever; and that for jewells, pearles and all sorts of that nature they should demand no custome nor duty; and that upon the wayes to and from their ports no exaction or duty should be taken nor demanded, but only at their port, according to custome.

7. That the sayd English might live in their owne house and among themselves according to their owne religion and lawes, and for that respect no Governor, *Kazy*, nor other should doe them any affront nor in any sort trouble or molest them.

8. That if any quarrell or other controversie whatsoever did arise among the English, that the Governors nor any other officers should not intermeddle, but leave it wholly to the president of their owne nation; and if any English did escape or flye away from their obedience and service, the Governors should assist to take and deliver him into the hands and power of the English to doe in all thing(s) among themselves justice according to their owne lawes; but that in case any difference of what kynd soever happened betweene the English and any Moore or *Banyan*, the Governors and other officers in their place should take notice and doe justice according to the offence or complaynt of eyther syde.

9. That the linguist and brokars serving the English should have free libertye to speake and deliver any thing in the dbehalfe of their masters, and should have licence to bargayne, traficque, sell, or buy for them, and to doe them any other service; and for such occasion should not bee subject to any question or account, nor any way prohibited nor molested.

10. That all presents beeing showed at the custome house, that the officers might avoyd deceit, beeing *chopped*, by both parts should bee deliverd to hands of the English to send to the court at their pleasure.

11. That in all causes of complaynt or controversie the Governors and *Kazies* of the place should doe them speedy justice and protect them from all injuries or oppressions whatsoever, and should ayd and entreat them as frends with curtesie and honor ; for that so it is the command of the Great Kyng, who hath given them his securitie, and that therefore it pleaseth the Prince to make declaration and confirmation of the sayd treaty by this writing, agaynst which no man shall presume to doe contrarie.

#### **Written underneath:**

That which I demand is bare justice and which no man can deny that hath a hart cleare and enclined to right, and no more then the lawes of nations doth freely give to all strangers that arrive, without any contract ; and in no case so much as the Great Kyng doth promise and command. If it please the Prince to confirme these articles freely and without ill meaning or collusion and to command that they bee obeyed precisely, I shall rest content and shall give satisfaction to my master and to my nation; but if not, and that any part bee refused or written fraudulently, according to former experiences, then I desire the Prince to take knowledge that I will be free of my woord given the Great Kyng in his presence and of all

blame or inconvenience that may happen after it, having given promese upon these conditions or els to bee at liberty.

After almost three yeares experience of the pride and falshood of these people, that attended only advantage and were governed by privat interest and appetite, I was forced to relinquish many poynts often insisted upon, when I could gett nothing, and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settle a trade and which might give the least offence and might pass with ease, leaving the rest to the generall order of the Kyng to receive justice from our procurador generall; and therefore seemed content and delivered it up to the Princes *Divon* for consideration and answere; who excepted almost agaynst all, or agaynst all that might serve to give us ease. But after many disputes I went to the Prince and had there read and discussed the articles as followeth :

To the first, it was wholly agreed unto.

To the second, to lend us frigatts was agreed unto, but more for the defence and bringing in of their owne ship then for good will to us; yet it passed sufficient for both. But in no case would the Prince consent that wee might land or weare armes in Suratt. First, they offered mee and my servants liberty; after, for ten merchants, and to more would not yeild, but that they should leave their armes in the custome house to bee delivered at returne. They instanced the disorder and quarreling of our people, the offering to take Suratt, anno 1616, the erecting a bell, and many woords given out that the English would fortifie their house or surprise the castle, with many more foolish jealousies arising from our owne faults. So that I consented, to cleare all, to the grant of ten at a tyme and the merchants residing, on condition that other articles were granted sufficient for our securitie, and that our people going in defence of their goods to any other inland cytty might pass with their armes for their guard agaynst theeves and exactions upon the way.

To the third, it was absolutly refused upon no conditions that wee should buy or build a house, nor hyre none neare the castle or upon the water; but that wee should have given us in the eytty, in convenient place, a good, strong and sufficient house, one or more as wee needed, wher wee should live for our rent, as wee could agree, and no man should putt us out : and that the Governor should see us furnished and provided of such habitation to our owne liking.

To the fourth, it was fully agreed unto.

To the fifth, it was agreed unto; but with all they declared that that house of Coja Arab wee should not have upon any conditions; first, because our earnest sute gave them suspition; next, because it was the ancient mynt; thirdly, because it stood agaynst their great *mesquite* and offended the Moores, especially our people pissing rudely and doing other filthines against the walls, to the dislike of the Mahometans, who with reverence regard their holy places; lastly, because there was a rumor that wee ment to surprise the said *mesquite* and being of stone and flatt at the topp it was supposed that wee intended to make [it?] our fort and to annoy the castle therefrom; which though it was a most frivoulous, idle, impossible suspition, yet they averring it arose from som rash speeches of some of our owne, they would

not yeild ; and that, seeing they offered us the choyce of all the towne, wee could show no materiall reason why only that house would serve us.

To the sixt, it was fully agreed unto.

To the sevventh,it (a)greed unto.

To the eight, it was agreed unto that in causes of difference among ourselves it should wholly bee referred to the English; but in case the controversie were with More or Gentile, it should bee referred to the Governor or officers proper to doe justice. But to deliver up any English that fled, it was refused, upon pretence if they turned Moore they could not refuse them protection; to which I replyed that wee would never consent that any should leave his fayth, for under that coulour they might robb us of all our goods. After much contention it was yeilded unto, because I utterly refused all if that libertye were left to any ill-mynded person.

To the ninth, it was fully agreed unto.

To the 10, it was agreed unto, the presents beeing opened and seene (that under coulour of them the Prince should not bee deceived of his rights) and sealed, should bee delivered to the English. But they added that if the sayd pretended presents were not given, that then in future tymes they should eyther pay custome or not bee delivered to the English; which, though most base, and in our power to give any or none, I consented too; but especially because ells I could have nothing, for these presents trouble all our busines.

To the 11, it was agreed unto.

Having thus gotten what I could, a draught was made to this effect and given to the secretarie writer of *firmans* to bee digested into forme, and was sealed and sent unto mee. But comming to reade yt, I found prohibition to land with any sort of armes, nor no English in Suratt to weare swoord, dagger, or other weapon but a knife, my selfe only exepcted and mine that I would nominate as my servants, and in all other poynts with the like falshood and show of wicked cunning malice, not once mentioning free trade nor liberty upon the way to pass without exactions, nor any other poynt faythfully sett downe according to meaning and good intention, but mixed with exceptions and cavills to bring us into more danger and trouble. I had taken leave of Kyng and Prince<sup>2</sup> and could not come to complayne without leave, and they would also know or feare my intention that should aske yt, and so hynder mee. Wherupon I sent backe the *firmaen*, utterly refusing it, and withall these reasons ensuing:

First, that for this unwoorthy suspition of our ill intents to disarme us utterly, it was a signe of no frendship, good meaning, nor favour toward us, and for no respect I would take any so dishonorable conditions, but keepe our armes and use them agaynst our enemies or any that should wrong us. Neyther could I see the face of my soveraygne lord the Kyng of England and report to him I had made peace with the Ghehangier, who had given us full liberty of trade, and to that effect had written his lettres, and at the same instance bee contradicted by an under treaty with the Prince, for that one of these must needes seme

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<sup>2</sup> This seems to show that the negotiations were prolonged well into September

false and counterfayt; and the later most unjust and such as our enemies could show no more malice; that eyther wee would be frends as wee ought to bee, or enemies declared. How could I command my countrimen to draw their swords in defence of the Kyngs and Princes [of a foreign country.]

## 5. WITHOUT REVENUE DOMINION WOULD SOON FALL AND TRADE AFTER IT : JOSIAH CHILDE c. 1680s

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Crowe, A.L. (B.A.Oxon) doctorate thesis, Sir Josiah Child and the East India Company, London University, pp 218 conclusion: pp. 184-194, Materials: 195-211, Bibliography: 212-218, Extracts pp 167,172,187-8,191,192,193,194

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....Without revenue dominion would soon fall to the ground and the trade after it.

...It must be remembered, too, that Roe had been impressed with Moghul power in 1619 but had not expected it to last. If the Company under-estimated Moghul power in 1687, so had Roe in 1617...what happened in the 1680s was not an abandonment of Roe's advice but a development from the same premises.

....He was a political person. In the first place, he had a political mind: his writings were concerned with trade and the state. He was not, however, a party politician... he was political in another way. Before he began work in the Company, it was essential for him as a purveyor of ships' stores to be on good terms with government, since his largest potential customer was the navy. He was one of those capitalists whose business depended on contact with people in the government. It was in this way that many business enterprises were bound into the political fabric of the country....

It is clear from the *discourse on trade* that more than ten years earlier Child had recognised the political nature of a joint stock company. It is arguable, therefore, that he realised the importance of maintaining the permanent stock in order that the Company could play a political part in 1681.

The trace of his mind, is seen, too, in the use that the Company made of its period of influence, Child and his associates called the development the creation of Dominion in India. An analysis of this phrase will show how much the policy was a reflection of his ideas.

In the first place, the Dutch model was always much in his eye....Child, however, had a different solution. He suggested the delegation of authority by government to groups of people charged with particular economic functions. Thus, he advocated a self-perpetuating corporation, set up and protected by government to administer the Poor Law. The only possible solution within the English framework to the frustrations of trade, was the protected but self-governing corporation.

The East India Company at the Revolution was just such a corporation. It was in a position to make and enforce its own regulations by virtue of powers delegated once and for all by government. In the Company's past the Crown had acted on its behalf, as when James I sent Thomas Roe as ambassador to the Mogul, but by 1688, royal power was delegated, not directly exercised. The Madras charter, for example, was issued by the Company, not by the Crown. This creation was, as we have seen, almost certainly Child's idea, and was put into operation through his agency.

...But more fundamental than this, he conceived of the Company as wielding political power for commercial ends, not as creating an empire in Asia... in other words, Dominion was to maintain and increase the trade under changed conditions, not an end in itself... Social climber... daughter's marriage to the marquis of Worcester. ....Child was concerned with the establishment of the trade in perpetuity, and the measure of his success was the endurance of his fabric as the foundations of the United Company. When Burke spoke of a great office in the guise of a country house he was describing Dominion in India.

**6. EVERYTHING WAS TO GO ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, AND NONE SO OLD AS THEM PAYING OBEDIENCE TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL'S ORDER**

***Thomas Pitt Governor Madras explains his problems c. 1707***

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BL: Add Ms. Thomas Pitt Papers; letter to Mr. Cook Dec.15,1707

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Hon'ble Sir

The foregoing is a copy of what I wrote to you by the Danes ship since we have little to add but what you will be fully informed of in the General Letter; where you will read the unspeakable trouble we have had about the casts, who are bitterer one against another, then ever I have heard or seen of Wigg and Tory, for whereas some trades are peculiar to one cast and (not) other, they will not work for one another, nor speak to one another in the streets; and I can't in my conscience but think, but *Frazer* drawn in by *Timmapa* and his *Dubash*, has chiefly contributed to it for the reasons you will read in our consultation and charge against him, in the latter there is a material instance omitted which is that the deserters refused the accepting the pardon, unless it was signed by *Frazer* and he reinstated. Besides (there is) a general saying amongst the poor people when they are threatened with punishment for what they had done they answered that the second was of their side, and since their returne I find that *Timmapa* drew, not only the pardon, but all the scandalous papers that were sent us and thrown about in which are expressions, that I have often heard from *Frazer*; I have him now in lately very sick, who in few days shall be in jayle and *Sunca Rama* shan't escape. These three I find to be at the bottom of this villany, and the chiefe promoters of it and, the latter I am informed has paid the charge. But I will take care he shall not be reimburst in my time, **and I resolve to make three such examples, as shall deter others from ever doing the like, and I did propose, the Dutch method, when it first broke out, which was to have cutt their heads off in the fort, at night, and have put their bodies into chests, and have sent them off to sea, but your weake councill, all of which God knows deserves the character except *Raworth*, have exhibited a notion, destructive to Government in these parts; which is, that noe native is to be cutt off, let his crime be what it will, but by a formall tryall, in which time a Government may be undone,\*** and had wee taken course, we had quelled them in four and twenty hours; and prevented them attempting the same again, wee had not given out a pardone soe soon as wee did, only that we expected the *Nath*[ ] up the beginning of September, and wanted the boats to load her, or otherwise she would have been lost in the **monsoon, but I took care to mention in it that everything was to go according to custome, and none so old as them paying obedience to the Governor and Councill's order.\*** Besides they have made it invalid, by not returning upon the receipt of it, after which too they committed several insolences, for which by degrees they shall be rewarded, and yet hope in two or three months to work them into such a temper as that there shall be a firme friendship between them as ever, and the source of this feud has been from that altering the method of investments by which you have shed out the *Right Hand* cast, who never can nor will make any, but by advancing money, which must never be done againe, if you can possibly avoid it.

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\* Emphasis added by Editor-compiler

## 7. EXPANSION OF BRITISH POWER IN THE INDIAN REGION UPTO AD 1708

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From John Macgregor (MP): *Oriental Commerce: India Ceyllon and other Oriental Countries*, 1848; Extracts pp 41,55.

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In the year 1670, Sir Josiah Child, who was an East Indian director, published his "Discourses on Trade." In that work he maintains with respect to the Indian trade, that,

I. It employs from twenty-five to thirty of the most warlike merchant ships of the kingdom, with sixty to 100 mariners in each.

II. It supplies the kingdom constantly and fully with that necessary article, saltpetre.

III. It supplies the kingdom for its consumption, with pepper, indigo, calicoes, and several useful drugs, to the value of from 150,000/- to 180,000/- pound sterling per annum.

IV. It also supplies materials for carrying on our trade to Turkey, viz., pepper, crwriess, calicoes, and painted stuffs; as also for our trades to France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea, to the amount of near 300.000/- pound sterling per annum, most of which trades we could not carry on with any considerable advantage but for those supplies. And those goods exported do produce in foreign parts, to be returned to England, six times the treasure in specie which the Company export to India. He therefore concludes -----

"That although the East India Company's imports greatly exceed its exports of our manufactures, yet for the above reasons it is clearly a gainful trade to the nation." He subjoins also,

*1<sup>st</sup>*. "That if we had not this trade ourselves, the single article of saltpetre, so absolutely necessary for making gun-powder, would cost a vast annual sum to purchase it from the Dutch.

*2<sup>nd</sup>*. "The loss of so many stout ships and mariners would be a great detriment to the nation.

*3<sup>rd</sup>*. "Were we forced to buy all our pepper, calicoes, &c., from the Dutch, they would make us pay as dear for them as we do for their nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon; and if we did not use calicoes, we should fall into the use of foreign linens."

1710. **The following is a list of the various places in which English factories were established at different periods, from the commencement of the trade to the East Indies, till the union of the two Companies in 1708.\***

(1) In the RED SEA, or ARABIAN GULF, the factories of

1. *Aden*
2. *Mocha*



(II) In the PERSIAN GULF, the factories of

1. *Bissrah*
2. *Bushire*
3. *Gombroon*
4. *Ispahan*
5. *Chiras*

(III) On the western coast of INDIA, the factories of

1. *Cutch*
2. *Cambay*
3. *Amedabad*
4. *Brodera*
5. *Baroach*
6. *Surat*
7. *Bombay*
8. *Raybag*
9. *Rajahpore*
10. *Carwar*
11. *Balicaloe*
12. *Onore*
13. *Burcelore*
14. *Mangalore*
15. *Durmapostem*
16. *Cannanore*
17. *Tellicherry*
18. *Calicut*
19. *Granganer*
20. *Cochin*
21. *Porca*
22. *Canrnoply*
23. *Quilon*
24. *Anjengo*

(IV) On the eastern side of INDIA, that is to say, COAST OF COROMANDEL, the factories of

1. *Tuticorin*
2. *Porto Novo*
3. *Cuddaore*
4. *Fort St. Georg*
5. *Pulicat*
6. *Pettipole*
7. *Mauslipatam*
8. *Verasheroon*
9. *Ingeram*
10. *Vizagapatam*
11. *Bimliapatam*
12. *Ganjam*

(V) In BENGAL, the factories of

1. *Balasure*
2. *Calcutta*
3. *Hooghley*
4. *Cossimbazzar*
5. *Rajahmahal*
6. *Patna*
7. *Lucknow*
8. *Bramapore*
9. *Agra*
10. *Lahore*
11. *Malda*
12. *Dacca*

(VI) On the MALAY PENINSULA to the Southward, the factories of Siam,

1. *Pegu*
2. *Quedah*
3. *Cambodia*
4. *Cochin-China*
5. *Patany*
6. *Johore*
7. *Ligore*

(VII) On the Island of SUMATRA JAVA, the factories of

1. *Acheen*
2. *Passaman*
3. *Sillebar*
4. *Ticco*
5. *Jambee*
6. *Bantam*
7. *Japara*
8. *Jacarta*

(VIII) On the Island of BORNEO, at

1. *Banjar Massin*
2. *Succadana* : and on CELEBES
3. *Macassar*

(IX) In the MOLUCCAS, on

1. *Banda*
2. *Ambovna*
3. *Pulo Roon*

## 8. BRITISH STATE COMES TO AID OF E.I.CO. AGAINST FRENCH CHALLENGE c.1740s

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BM: Newcastle Papers: Add Ms 33004: Minutes of privy Council 1739-45<sup>3</sup>; following minutes on ff 52r-3, 78v-80r, and 80v-81r. Note : Minute of 22 Mar 1743/4 (BM Add Ms 33004 f 78) referred to in Cambridge History of India, Vol V, pp 119 (Ed 1929).

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### ***Whitehall : Nov. 5, 1741***

(Extract)

..Mr. Haddock should be directed to go, with his majesty's whole squadron ; or with part of it, as he may think sufficient; to Barcelona; or to such port , whence he shall have intelligence, that the Spanish embarcation is; and endeavour to destroy it; either at Barcelona; or in any port in Italy; or in their voyage thither; and to attack, take, sink, burn, or other wise destroy, all Spanish ships, or other ships,in the service of Spain; and to attack, take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy the French squadron, wherever they are, if he shall come up with them, joined with, convoying, or giving any assistance, or protection to the Spainiards, in port, or at sea, or ...

### ***Whitehall : Mar 22, 1744***

(Extract)

Mr. Thomson's Letters of the 25th, 28th, and 29th instant received yesterday giving an account of the declaration made to him by Mor Amelot, of the intention of France to declare war forthwith, and to publish a manifesto, setting forth their reasons received.

Notice to be given immediately to the directors of the East India Company, and consideration to be had for the security of our East India ships, and the molesting those of France on their return to Europe; and the times of the return of the several branches of their trade; and the best, and most probable means of intercepting them. ...

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<sup>3</sup> A reference to 1744 is also made in "The East India company in Eighteenth-Century Politics" by Lucy S. Sutherland (Principal of Lady Margaret Hall Oxford) 1962 edition, on pp 45-6 (Chap2: The Monied Company). It reads :

"The French Company was comparatively a newcomer to the East. It can be said to have come into permanent existence in 1664, When it obtained a site at Swally with permission to trade at Surat. Though in the early years of the eighteenth century it set up factories which competed in each of the three English fields of enterprise, it was in Madras, where the 'country powers' were weak, that their rivalry was to have spectacular results. At first it seemed as if the great struggles between England and France, which were being fought out in all their varied spheres of influence, might pass India by, for in the war of the spanish Succession an unofficial truce was made between the two Companies. An attempt by the French to make a similar arrangement with the English Company in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-8) was defeated, however, by the action of the English Government in sending a fleet to harass the French in these valuable possessions, and the French did not delay in taking up the challenge".

**Whitehall : Mar 28, 1744**

(Extract)

The minutes of the cabinet council, of Feb. 2, and the instructions of Sir John Norris, signed by his majesty, in consequence of those minutes; and a petition to his majesty, signed by a great number of merchants; delivered to the Duke of Newcastle, on the 23rd instant, were also read.

.. that the merchants should be acquainted, in answer to their petition, that the disposition, and appointment of his majesty's ships of war, were not taken out of the power, and direction, of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. ..

## 9. ON CONFRONTATION WITH FRANCE c.1740s

### 1. *Duke of Newcastle to Harry Gough Esq : Whitehall, March 22, 1744*

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IOR :E/1/32: Letters Recd 1743-4: No 154 : (Extract)

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[to inform court of directors about declaration of war with France]

"that they may take such precautions, as they shall think necessary for the security of their trade and if I can be of any service to them upon this occasion, you may assure them, that I shall be extremely glad to receive their commands."

### 2. **J. Mill: *HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA, 3 VOL, 1817***

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II: 1708-84,P.31

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#### **War between France and England in 1744:**

And it was not long before the most distant settlements of the two nations felt the effects of their destructive contentions.

On the 14th of September 1746, a French fleet anchored four leagues to the south of Madras; and landed five or six hundred men.

### 3. **Malcolm, Sir J. : *The life of Robert, Lord Clive***

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1834; p.130:

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"He embarked at Madras in 1753. In the course of the same year he landed in England. His reception was most flattering. .. The court of directors voted him a sword set with diamonds; .. and in society he was honoured with those elevating marks of regard, which always attend a fortunate soldier."

### 4. **Beckles Wilson *LEDGER AND SWORD: Or the Hon'ble Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies: 1599-1874, 2 vols (pub 1903)***

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II: India Aflame

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The French Company, deprived of the royal fleets and trembling for the safety of Pondicherry and the other French factories, came forward with a proposal for neutrality between the traders in India. At first Leadenhall Street was not indisposed to listen to them; but at length realising its strength abroad if backed by the Government, rejected it. The business of commerce at the factories was thus in consequence quickly to give way to the business of war.

War could hardly in any case have long been delayed. Almost every province in India at this period was ripe for bloody revolution.

**5. Colin Clair: *Robert Clive, Baron of Plassey:***

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1963; p.44

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"The penniless youth of 17 who had left England with the poorest of prospects arrived back in England at the age of 28 both rich and famous. In the last years of his sojourn in India he had amassed about 50,000 pounds sterling so that his father, who had never made much out of his practice as an attorney, could justifiably write, "after all the boy has sense." ..." though with aid of Lord sandwich, and by dint of lavish expenditure, he was returned for the borough of St Michael in cornwall, he was unseated as the result of a petition. largely owing to Tory hatred of Sandwich. The day following this blow to his political aspiration he visited East India House and agreed to conditions for his return to India."

## 10. E.C.CO. AND THE BRITISH STATE c.17th-18th C.

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IOR: HM 43; pp 139: Home or Domestic Administration (of E.I.Company)

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In January 1744 it was intimated to the court of directors that if the Company would advance and lend to his majesty for the service of the Government, the sum of one million at 3% it might be the means of procuring the prolongation of the Company's term in the exclusive trade to the year 1780, their present expiring at Lady Day 1766. The company to be empowered to borrow the said million on their bonds. The proposition was agreed to - the three years notice to be given from 1780.

The 17 Geo 2nd Cap 17 was accordingly passed.

It was at the same time declared that the Company were to have the benefit of all charters and acts which had been made in their favour.

This measure secured to the Company the exclusive trade for the prospective term of 36 Years from 1744 and the several periods for which, and the term upon which it had been extended will be seen by the following summary:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Reign</b>		<b>Granted for Years</b>	<b>Terms</b>
1698	9 & 10 Wm 3rd	The charter granted from the 29th Sept 1701 to 29th Sept 1711	10 years & 3 years notice.	On lending 2,000,000 pounds sterling at 8%.
1707	6 Anne	The charter extended from 29.9.1711 to 25th March 1726.	14.5 year 3 years notice.	on lending 1,200,000 pound sterling at 5% and agreeing to receive only 5% on the two million.
1712	10 Anne	Charter extended from the 25th March 1726 to the 25th March 1733.	7 years & 3 years notice.	No further terms.
1729	3 <sup>rd</sup> Geo2	Charter extended from the 25th March 1733 to 25 <sup>th</sup> March 1766.	33 years & 3 years notice.	And a right granted to continue a corporate body for ever giving 200,000 pound sterling by the 24 Dec 1730: and agreeing to receive from the 29 Sept 1730 only 128,000 or pound sterling 4% on the 3,200,000 pound sterling
1744	17 Geo2	Charter extended from 25th March 1766 to 25th March 1780.  From 29 Sept 1701 to the 25th March 1780.	14 years & 3 years notice.  78.5 years	On lending 1,000,000 pound sterling by the 29.9.1744 at 3%. The 3,200,000 pound sterling to continue at 4%.  Total Loan to Government 4,200,000 pound sterling.

## 11. PRIME MINISTER NEWCASTLE ORDERS FULL RESPECT TO BRITISH FLAG AND SOVEREIGNTY

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IOR:E1\37: letters recd 1752-3,(211 letters) no. 191, entr: No 190 refers to Robbery at the Bussrah Mess, 11pp:  
Sep 5

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To Mr. Chauncy

Whitehall, November 2, 1753.

Sir,

Having laid before the King, the extract of a letter, which you transmitted to me, from the Governor, and council, of St Helena, to the court of directors of the East India Company, of the 5th of May last, giving an account, that a Prussian ship, bound from China for Embden, had arrived at St Helena, and sailed from thence, without saluting the Fort, or taking any notice of the flag; and that the said ship had several of his majesty's subjects on board; and desiring to have directions, in which manner they are to treat any ships of the same nation, that may, hereafter, arrive there; and whether they may detain any of the King's subjects, which may be found on board of them" I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should send orders to the Governor, and council, of St Helena, to take effectual care, that all due honour may be paid to the king's flag, by all vessels, as well Prussian, as of any other nation Whatsoever, which shall, at any time, arrive there; and that they shall cause all such of his majesty's subjects, as shall be found on board of any Prussian ship, or ships belonging to any other foreign power, which shall, hereafter, come to St Helena, to be taken out, and sent, by the first opportunity, to England, as acting contrary to the laws of the Kingdom.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant

Holles Newcastle



## 12. HALT TO WARFARE BETWEEN FRANCE AND BRITISH COMPANIES

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IOR: HM 93: pp 151-2 Minute of Privy Council

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Whitehall, 19 February 1754

*present:* Lord Anson, Lord Holderness, Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Drake, Mr. Burrow, Mr. Mabbot, Mr. Hume

The East India Companys of England and France having hitherto confined themselves to act only as auxiliaries to the princes of India; with whom they are mutually in alliance, and it being material not to deviate from this method of proceeding, and to avoid, as much as possible, becoming principals in the War, the India Company will take care to give the strictest orders to their Governors and other officers in India, cautiously to avoid whatever might be construed as an act of hostility against the French East India Company, unless the proceedings of the French should force them to reprisals.

### 13. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S REQUESTS FOR COMMISSION FOR SEIZING "PIRATES"

IOR: HM Vols 93 and 94: pages as shown against date of request

**NOTE:** It is possible that this is an incomplete statement of requests made during this period. Besides ships which would have obtained such commission earlier are excluded in the above. The request was worded as under: "the court of directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies do desire that a commission for seizing pirates may be granted to the commanders of the following ship outward bound to India in the service of the said Company: Vizt." (request 6.12.1753: HM 93/141)

<b>Date of Request</b>	<b>Ship</b>	<b>Commander</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Guns</b>
21.11.1748 (93/1)	Griffin	Thomas Dethich	499	99	26
	Boscawen	Benjamin ..	499	99	28
2. 1.1749 (93/2)	Warren	A. Glover	499	99	28
25.1.1749 (93/5)	Shaftesbury	Wm Bosney (?)	499	99	26
7.10.1751 (93/9)	Houghton	Richard Walople	499	99	26
	Prince of Wales	Wm Peck	499	99	26
9. 11.1752 (93/81)	Harcourt	William Webber	499	99	26
	Clinton	John Nanfan ?	499	99	26
	Walpole	Francis Fowler	499	99	26
	Winchester	Christopher Baron	499	99	26
	Falmouth	Thomas Field	499	99	26
	Egmont	Thomas Tolson	499	99	26
6.12.1753 (93/141)	York	Edward Ward	499	99	26
14.10 1754 (93/199)	Earl of Holderness	Matthew Court	499	99	26
	Hardwicke	John Samson	499	99	26
16. 1.1755 (93/219)	Stretham	Charles Mason	499	99	26
25. 9.1755 (93/289)	Caernarvon	Norton Hutchinson	499	99	26
	Stormont	Jesiah Hendman	499	99	26
4. 1.1757 (94/101)	Worcester	Edward Tideman	499	99	26
	Fox	Alexander Hume	499	99	26
28. 1.1757 (94/120)	Howke	Richard Drake	499	99	26
	Leatham	John Foot	499	99	26
4. 11.1757	Tilbury	Roger Mainwaring	499	99	26
	Osterley	Frederick Vincent	499	99	26

## 14. ADMIRAL WATSON'S EXPEDITION TO INDIA: 1754

IOR: Home miscellaneous, vol 93, pp 165-166 etc.

### A List of His Majesty's Ships Employed on the Expedition to the East Indies

Ship's Name	Commander	Number of:		
		Guns	Seamen	Soldiers
Kent	R.A. Watson Henry Speke	70	380	110
Eagle	George Pocock	60	380	94
Bristol	Thomas Latham	50	280	89
Salisbury	Thomas Knowler	50	280	89
Bridgwater	William Martin	24	140	56
King's Fisher Sloop	Best Mitchell	10-24[ ]	70	33
			1,645	475

14 March 1754  
(Admiralty office)

### Separate and Secret Instructions (to Rear Admiral Watson): 2.3.1754

Whereas it will not be safe for the ships under your command to remain on the coast of Coromandel later than the first week in October, you will then proceed to Bombay, on the coast of Malabar, and you will advise with the Company's Governor, and council there, **how the ships can be most advantageously employed for the publick and the company's service during the monsoon, when if it shall be their and your opinion, that the possessions, ships, vessels or forces of the noted Angria can be attacked with a prospect of success, without any hazard or risque of the ships under your command, you will undertake the same,\*** as soon as the company shall have furnished you with such men, stores and ammunition as you shall find necessary for the purpose. But this service is not to be undertaken, upon any account, unless the same can be so timely performed, that the ships may be refitted, and enabled to return to the coast of Coromandel by the breaking up of the monsoon.

G.R.

**15. ROBERT CLIVE RETURNS TO INDIA AFTER BEING UNSEATED FROM  
BRITISH PARLIAMENT**

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IOR: E/1/38: Letters Recd 1754-5

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Sunday Morning, March 30, 1755.

Sir

I am this instant setting out: as my affairs required a day to settle I could not conveniently go before.

Yesterday morning I was with Mr. Fox who enquired the name of the ship I went on board, and where it lay, and promised he would get the commission ready by Monday and send it to me: but for fear of disappointment I think it would be proper to send to the Earl of Holderness to be certain whether it will be so or not.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant  
Robert Clive

To *Robt James Esq* at the East India House

## 16. ROBERT CLIVE TO R. DRAKE, BOMBAY JAN.31, 1756

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NLW: Clive MS 196

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Sir,

My last was from St.Jago and the Petham being now under dispatch for Europe gives me an opportunity of addressing you a second time. It may suffice, without being particular to acquaint you that the troops which embarked on board the 4 ships are safely arrived at this place with the loss only of 6 or 7 private men.

Though we have received news from the other coast so late as the 6th of last month, we have no account as yet of the arrival of the Doddington. She cannot surely be gone to Bengal. The most probable conjecture is, that being too late to venture on the coast she may have stood for Atcheen intending to stretch over to Madras, some time in December, when the danger of the Monsoon is over. However, at all events I hope no very ill fortune hath attended her.

It would be needless to expatiate on the truce by this time so well known in England. Copy of which and of the private articles have been transmitted to this place by the select committee on the other coast who have recommended in the strongest terms the entering into an immediate treaty with the Moratoes, the joining them in the field and even coming to action if necessity should require. The Gentlemen of this place are of opinion that acting by halves or making at catspaw of the Morattoes may ruin the Company's affairs in these parts; they urge that after having joined and put them to a very great expense in assembling an army, a peace should be concluded (in consequence of the private articles carried home by Mr. Saunders). That the withdrawing the forces, may cause an evolution greatly detrimental to this island, at present in a very flourishing condition: that even the very treating with them without being at a certainty of fulfilling the article of such treaty will not only publish the scheme to all the world, but likewise deprive the English of that reputation, for equity and justice, which at present they are so famed for, At the same time they have agreed to make all necessary preparations for the carrying this scheme into execution when they are assured it may be done to the purpose. I must confess that I join issue with the gentleman here on this subject (as do the two admirals who were present upon the occasion). I should not be over-scrupulous or wanting in a little chicanery towards a nation who never made any treaties at all, but with a view of breaking them. But really at present I think any infringement whatever would not be agreeable to the maxims of sound policy. It is not only the welfare of the other coast but this likewise that comes under consideration. They on the other side have no connection at all with the Morattoes, therefore any step towards weakening or removing the French influence from Golconda is the grand point gained to them, even though it be at the expense of the Moratta friendship, the loss of which may cause no ill effect there, whereas a failing in our engagements may occasion the whole weight of the Moratta friendship, the loss of which may cause no ill effect there, whereas a failing in our engagements may occasion the whole weight of the Moratta resentment to fall on this side. In short I can only remark that if no such truce had subsisted, the scheme which was designed at the India House might have been carried into execution with a prospect of great

advantages to the company, and great credit and honour to the gentlemen who planned it. I hope the first ship that comes from England will either enable us to put the intended plan in execution or to enjoy the great benefits arising from peace, trade and plenty. At present an affair of the not of the like consequence seems to engross the attention of this place. I mean the attack of Gueria. If a perfect harmony subsisting between the sea and land forces can add anything to the prospect of our success, I am sure such harmony will not be wanting. Mr. Watson ever attentive to the good of his country hath undertaken his expedition by sea, the command by land devolves on me who upon this occasion have offered my service and indeed I could not do less both in justice to those to whom I owe every thing as in justice to my own reputation. I hope Mr. Drake will believe that I ever carry in my remembrance a thorough conviction of his friendship and that without dwelling too much upon so tender a point, I cannot take a better method of showing my gratitude to him than by proving myself a faithful and honest servant to the Company. Whenever I cease to be such, I am sure I shall very deservedly cease to enjoy the least share of his esteem.

Mrs. Clive joins with me in best wishes to Mrs. Drake and all the family and,  
I am Dear Sir your most affectinate and  
most obedient servant  
Robert Clive

Bombay  
January 31st 1756.

## 17. TAKING STOCK OF SHIPS AND SOLDIERS c. 1756

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IOL:HM vol 94

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1.

Sir,

The gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy of the East India Company desire the favour that you will acquaint the Right Hon'ble Mr Fox, that they will do themselves the honour of waiting upon him on an affair of importance on Tuesday morning next the 18th instant at ten O' clock, if that time will be agreeable; be so good to let me know Mr Fox's answer as soon as it may be convenient, that I may give the gentlemen notice accordingly, and you will very much oblige, sir,

your most obedient and most humble servant

[East India House, 12th May 1756.]

Robt James, Secretary.

2.

Whitehall, 10th September 1756

### **Secret Committee of the East India Company**

Gentlemen,

I have taken the first opportunity of laying before his majesty and his ministers, your letter to me of the 18th past, and they have the contents of it under their serious consideration.

The French Company, as you observe, are supported, in a great degree, at the expence of the crown of France; but then it must be remarked, that the king has a principal share in the trade of the Company; the exact state of whose affairs is precisely known to the French ministers, and indeed the Company's ships are of that size and construction, that, upon their arrival in the East Indies, they are capable of acting, to all intents and purposes as ships of war. The first part of this case you are sensible, gentlemen is very different here, but if you could imitate the French Company the second, by increasing the force and quality of your own ships, you would find therein a considerable advantage, and have much less reason to be in any apprehension from the enemy. You will therefore give me leave to recommend this to your consideration; although you may be assured, that, in the meantime, nothing will be wanting in the king's servants, (who are fully sensible of the great importance of the East India trade to this country) humbly to advise his majesty, to contribute as much to your assistance, and support, as the present exigency will permit.

(Draught : Henry Fox )

**3.**  
**AN ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TROOPS ON THE COAST OF**  
**COROMANDEL TAKEN FROM THE LAST GENERAL RETURN**  
**DATED AT FORT ST GEORGE**

28th February 1756:

Europeans including officers	Men	
	2,389	
Topasses incorporated with the Europeans	335	
Coffres the same	120	2,844
Seapoys		7,144
Total of the Forces on the 28 Feb 1756		9,988
NB Recruits sent by the Dodington the beginning of the 1755		80
Recruits sent from England last season		
being all the Company could raise		292
Recruits intended to be sent this season		
if they can possibly be raised about	500	872

The above are exclusive of his majesty's Regiment under the command of Col Adlercron, also of the detachment of artillery commanded by Captain Hislop or any of the companys of artillery in his majesty's pay.

East India House, 21 December 1756.

(Back: In the letter from the Secret Committee of the East India Company of December 21, 1756.)

HM: Vol 94

**4.**  
**HENRY FOX TO COL ADLERCORN**

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IOR: HM 94

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Col Adlercorn

Whitehall, June 8, 1756.

Sir,

His Majesty having found it necessary to declare war against the French King, was pleased in council held the 17th past, to sign a declaration, which was published the next day, by the heralds at arms, in the usual places, and with the accustomed formalities; and I send you enclosed some printed copies of the same, (together with a French translation thereof) for your information, and that you may take such measure thereupon, as may be most conducive to his majesty's service.

I am & c  
H. Fox



## 18. FURTHER REINFORCEMENTS FOR INDIA c. 1757

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IOR: HM Vols 93; Letter 11.1.1757; vol 94; 27.1.1757, 18.3.1757

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1.

### **W.Pitt to Admiral Watson: Whitehall, 11 January 1757.**

(P.S.: It is hoped that his majesty's declaration of the war against the French King, whereof copies were sent to you, have reached your hands in due time.)

Sir,

The Secret committee of the East India Company having made strong and repeated representations to the king of their inability to protect their trade and settlements, against the dangers, to which they are exposed, from the great armaments, which the French have sent, and are sending to the East Indies, his majesty has been graciously pleased to order a regiment of four ships of the line, and one frigate, to proceed forthwith for the assistance and protection of the Company in those parts.

You will receive particular directions from the Lords of the Admiralty, with regard to the ships already under your command, and to your own return to England, with such ships, or ship only, as cannot be rendered fit for the King's service in those seas, where having been long employed, and given distinguished proofs of your prudence and ability, it is unnecessary for me to recommend it to you to communicate, before your departure, any lights, and informations, which may be useful to the king's service, and his majesty doubts not but those on whom the command shall devolve, will exert their utmost endeavours, for the protection and support of the company, agreeable to his majesty's gracious intentions in sending this reinforcement.

The Company, it is hoped, having a perfect knowledge of their own affairs, may form such plans of operation, as may best secure their possessions, or annoy the enemy, and it is therefore his majesty's pleasure that the commanders of his ships shall concur and assist in the execution thereof, nevertheless, consulting, on all proper occasions, what may be practicable, and fit, for the king's ships, and most advisable for the general service.

**Your success in the extirpation of Angria the pirate, and the reduction of his ports and settlements, has given the king great satisfaction, and has been followed with those expressions of acknowledgements from the Company, as are justly due to your diligence and conduct. The company are also inclined to hope that what passed with the Morattos on that occasion will not have prevented the completion of the treaty with them which you very rightly judge to be essential to the security of that part of the country.\***

I am &c  
W. Pitt

2.

**W. Pitt to Col. Adlercron: Whitehall, January 27, 1757.**

Sir,

I am commanded to signify to you his majesty's pleasure, that you should forthwith return to England, with the regiment under your command, on board such of the company's ships, as you shall be able to find a passage in, directions being given by the company to their officers for that purpose; but as it will be necessary for the East India Company to keep up a considerable force for the security of their settlements it is the king's further pleasure that as many of the commissioned officers of your regiment, under the rank of field officers, and also such of the non-commissioned officers, and private men, as shall be willing to engage in the service of the company, be permitted to remain in the East Indies; and the king would not have the least compulsion used to prevail on any of the officers, or men, to stay, yet I am to acquaint you, that the more of them that shall consent to continue there the more agreeable it will be to his majesty, as it will greatly tend to the protection of the Company's trade; and you will acquaint the officers, that such of them as shall engage in the service of the Company, shall from the time of their so engaging be entered upon the list of his majesty's reduced officers, according to their respective ranks; and Whenever they return to England, after having so served, they shall be entitled to the receipt of the half pay, from the time of such return, respectively, according to the rank which they held in his majesty's service.

I am &c  
W. Pitt

(Back page: by India ships and Duplicate by Man of War)

3.

**W. Pitt to Col Adlercron: Whitehall, March 18, 1757**

Sir,

Though it is scarcely to be supposed that you can have any doubt about the manner in which the small train, which was sent to the East Indies, with a detachment of men, from his majesty's Royal Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Captain Hislop, is to be disposed of; yet, I am commanded to signify to you, the king's pleasure, that the said train be continued in the service of the Company, as long as his majesty's artillery companies remain in India, to be there employed in such manner as the commander in chief of the Company's forces, shall think for the service.

I am &c  
W. Pitt

(NOTE: The general instructions dated 2.3.1754 to Admiral Watson, from the British king (G.R) are on pp 159-164 of HM 93. [Also included here in V-14] Vol 93 and 94 have much material for the period 1753-7.)

## 19. VARIOUS CURRENT STORIES ON 1757 AND CLIVE

### Robert Clive MSS

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NLW : Aberystwyth

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#### 1.

**MSS 1716/7** (12page account) Ally Werdee Caun died 9.3.1756.  
Succeeded by adopted son Seerajju Doulah.

#### 2.

**MSS 1722/82:** Misc: paragraph concerning battle of Plassey

Malicious persons, in order to serve a temporary purpose of detraction and defamation, will publish any falsehood whatsoever even tho it can be instantly disproved by multitudes. Of this sort is a paragraph in this paper of Tuesday last the 14th instant containing description of the battle of plassey pretended to have been taken *verbatim* from Sir Eyre coote's journal, and which he read to the Select committee of the House of Commons. We are authorised to affirm that it is a most gross imposition upon the public, we the members and a numerous audience well knowing that Sir Eyre Coote never read any such description of that battle to the Committee.

(Coote Journal: Orme Coll, India, vol VII, p.165; referred to in Sir Eyre Coote by Col H.C.Wylly, p.26, Oxford 1922)

#### 3.

**MSS 369** (538 letters; 234 pages, Index; 1756-; No. 169,p.85;

From places to meet you. But if you won't comply even with this, pardon me. I shall make it up with the Nabob.

#### 4.

**MSS 199** : 1.2.1757: To Secret Committee: p.25:

His force consists of 20,000 men, horse and foot, if we may trust our intelligences which indeed has all along proved very defective. It is possible his design may be only to amuse us with a treaty for some particular ends but a few days must bring that to light.

#### 5.

**MSS 200** : 23.2.1757: to Lord Chancellor; pp 28-9 :

The news brought down the Nabob or prince of the country himself at the head of 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot; 25 pieces of cannon with a great number of elephants, our little army consisting only of 700 Europeans and 1,200 blacks armed and exercised after the English manner, lay encamped about 5 miles distant from the town of Calcutta.....

#### 6.

**MSS 200** 31.1.1757: to Wm. Nabbot: p.22:

Mr. Holwell is a specious and sensible man but from what I have heard and observed myself I cannot be persuaded he will ever make use of his abilities for the good of the company; I am well informed there is no merit due to him for staying behind in the fort, nothing but the want of a boat prevented his escape and flight with the rest.

**7.**

**MSS 200** 19.8.1757: to Richard Clive: p.69:

Accordingly the army consisting of 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 blacks and a fine train of artillery began their march from Chandernagar the 13th June last and on the 23rd met the nabob on the plains of Placy with an army of 60,000 men. A battle ensued in which he was entirely defeated with the loss of his camp all his baggage and 40 pieces of cannon...

**8.**

**MSS 1712/1** : FW, 9 Oct 1765

(Duplicate, draft possibly in Clive hand or his corrections) for these purposes, I myself proposed there should be two treaties, a real one, and a fictitious one, the latter intended merely as a deception to Omichand. This proposal was unanimously approved by the gentlemen of the Select Committee, and whatever Mr.Gray think of it, it is certain they considered it, with me, as a political fallacy authorised by the important negotiation then depending. Were we again in the like circumstance I should not certainly think myself authorised to act in the same manner.

**9.**

**MSS 1712/1** : (n.d., defense of C):

He received the reward of his humane and glorious actions from the hand of that prince on whom he had bestowed a throne and a full treasury, together with a revenue of at least 3 million sterling. And what did he receive? Why 200,000 pound sterling. Let the common sense and feeling of every man, determine whatever a general officer with millions of money at his command does not act the part of moderation, if he only takes 200,000 pound sterling.

With respect to the Jaghire...it was not obtained till two years after and the immediate occasion of the grant was.....

**10.**

**Malcolm on Clive** : Vol I: p.259 It is stated, (Scrafton's letters p.90)

That before he carried their resolution into effect, he had received a letter from Meer Jaffier, which, though it in some degree removed the doubts he had before entertained of the sincerity of that leader confirmed him in his opinion, that the success of the enterprise must wholly depend upon the advance of the British troops.

**11.**

Colin Clair: **Figures of the Common wealth: Robert Clive**, 1963:

Throwing his royal turban on the ground, Siraj-ud-Daula called upon his uncle to defend it, upon which the cautious Mir Jafir expressed his loyalty and at once galloped back to his troops and sent a messenger to Clive to attack soon after night fall. As it happened the message was not delivered until the battle was over.

## 20. UNCERTAINTY OF MEER JAFFEIR'S SUPPORT : 21.6. 1757

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NAI : Home : Misc Records : Vol 62 : copy from I.O., vol 3.pp 435. Vol 3 of 'Narrative of the affairs and wars of the carnatic': Vols 60 and 61. This vol deals with Bengal 12.3.1757 to 29.3.1758.

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The Right Hon'ble Roger Drake Esq and Chas Manningham, and Richard Becher of the Select Committee at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

Since my last another letter has been delivered [to] Meer Jaffeir and no answer returned in writing but the enclosed discourse past between him and the bearer . I am really at a loss how to act in the present situation of our affairs especially should I receive a confirmation by letter of Meer Jaffeir's resolution to stand neuter. The Nabob's forces at present are not said to exceed 8000 men, but a compliance with their demands may easily encrease them. If we attack them it must be entrenched and ourselves without any assistance, in this a repulse must be fatal; **on the contrary success may give the greatest advantage; the Nabob's apprehensions at present are great, and perhaps he may be glad to grant us an honourable peace, the principle of fear may make him act much against his private inclination and I believe that has been the case ever since the capture of Chandernagore.\*** There still remains another expedient of sending an embassy either to Ganzoody Cawn or Marrottoes to invite them in. I beg you will let me have your sentiments how I ought to act at this critical juncture.

Cuswa  
the 21st June 1757.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
Robert clive.

## 21. DIVISION OF PLUNDER MADE BY THE BRITISH IN BENGAL: 1756-7

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BM: Hardwicke Paper: Add Ms 35917: ff 14-5; A final draft, with one or two additions, is on off 16-7; A further communication dated 31 Aug 1757 to W. Pitt acknowledges that "his majesty was garciouly pleased to declare his intention of granting to the East India Company one moiety of the booty or plunder...."

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To

The Right Hon'ble William Pitt Esq,  
one of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State

16 August 1757

Sir,

In obedience to your commands signified to us by your letter of the 29 July last, acquainting us that the secret committee of the East India Company had requested you to assist them in an application to be made to His Majesty, for his approbation of the agreement made between his majesty's admiral and officers in India in regard to the division of any plunder, which may be made in India, and taken from the Moors, and the Commpany's governer and council at Fort St George; and that in consequence of such agreement, his majesty will be graciously pleased to grant to the Company the moiety of the booty, which was to be deposited, till his majesty's royal pleasure should be known; and in the said letter inclosing the extracts delivered to you by the said committee; and further desiring that we will report to you, for his majesty's information, our opinion how far the king can comply with the Company's request.

We have taken the said agreement into our consideration, and have herewith returned all the said extracts. And we are humbly of opinion that this case does not, in any part of it, fall within the provisions made by the statute of the year 29th of his majesty's reign, for the encouragement of seamen,(and for the more speedy and effectual manning of the navy)<sup>4</sup>, in as much as that law relating only to captures made in the present war between his majesty and the French king, and has no concern with the disputes and hostilities between the East India Company, and the Nabab of Bengal. It must therefore be judged of by general rules of law and his majesty's prerogative.

And we are of humble opinion,

1. That all such places as are retaken return to the old dominion; and consequently, that the town and settlement of Calcutta within the former territorial limits must be restored to the East India Company.
2. That all such places as may be newly conquered in the expedition accrue [to] the sovereign, and are vested in his majesty, by right of conquest.

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<sup>4</sup> The portion within brackets is from the final draft.

3. That with respect to moveable goods, retaken, the property of all such, was altered by the capture, and totally lost to the original owners, after a possession by the enemy for a limited time, and consequently every thing within that description, belongs to his majesty, in whose name, and under whose protection, and by the assistance of whose fleet, the same is regained.

4. That by stronger reason all moveables and plunder of every kind first taken and acquired from the enemy, either by land or sea, are vested in his majesty subject to his power of disposing, by virtue of his known prerogative.

Upon these grounds, we concur in opinion, that his majesty, if he shall think fit in his royal wisdom, may comply with the Company's request.

(All which is submitted to your consideration)<sup>5</sup>.

G. Hay  
C. Pratt

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<sup>5</sup> this sentence is from the final draft.



## 22. BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS HIGHLY COMMENDS ROBERT CLIVE TO E.I.CO.

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IOR:E/1/40: (1757) No 222 (A copy of this letter does not seem to be included in the corresponding volume of the Newcastle Papers (Add Ms 32874): 11.9 to 9.10.1757)NOTE: This letter is evidently written after the receipt of the news of the capture of Calcutta by the British in Feb 1757. On this occasion Clive also personally conveyed the news to Newcastle through his letter dated 23.2.1757 (Add Ms 32870). This letter concluded: "As I have already been honoured with your Grace's protection and favour I flatter myself with the continuance of it and that if your Grace thinks me deserving your Grace will recommend me to the Court of Directors".

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Newcastle House,  
September 30, 1757.

The services lately performed by Colonel Clive, in the East Indies, at the hazard of his life, and with little or no benefit, (as I am informed ) to his private fortune, will, I am persuaded, make it unnecessary for me to recommend him to the favour of gentlemen, who are always ready to reward merit. But as I have the pleasure of knowing Mr Clive, personally; and have a great regard for his father, I cannot, in justice to either, decline giving you this trouble, as a testimony of my good wishes, that some proper mark of approbation may be soon bestowed upon Col Clive, by so respectable a body, as the East India Company; which at the same time gives me an opportunity of assuring you of the great truth, and regard, with which I am, Gentlemen,

(Noted on back: "Letter from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle recommending Col Clive to the Court's notice.")

### 23. LORD HARDWICKE WRITES TO COL. CLIVE 11.11.1757

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British Museum: Hardwicke Papers: Add Ms 35595: letter from Hardwicke to Clive. Clive's letter of 23-2-1757 to the Lord Chancellor, to which perhaps the above letter refers, is in Clive papers (NLW) vol 201 pp 16-8 The reference in the last para to Clive's father's application, is perhaps, to the appointment of Governor Generalship, which Clive asked his father to canvass for him in his latter of 23 Feb 1757. (vol 201 pp 19-20)

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Powis House  
Nov 11,1757.

I received the favour of your letter, dated from Calcutta the 23rd of February last, about the latter end of Sept, whilst I was in the country, and, at the same time, a journal of your proceedings in the expedition, carried on to the taking of Chandernagar. I am highly obliged to you for this communication, and for the regard shown to me in it, and I must heartily congratulate you on the important service you have done your king<sup>6</sup> and country, and the great honour you have acquired to yourself. You have, by the blessing of God, gained a complete and most original victory over such a superiority of numbers, as sound prodigious to European ears, and thereby shown what [our]<sup>7</sup> English spirit and courage, under the direction of right conduct, is capable of performing. It was very happy also that you had the assistance of so able a sea officer as admiral Watseon, who I find by your narrative, as well as from others, did his part extremely well. The account you give of the [Sere]<sup>8</sup> at Calcutta is surprising, since the loss of private property is valued at so great a sum as two million sterling.

The services, which you have rendered to the East India Company, by the recovery of so considerable a settlement, and by the vengeance, which you have justly taken for the unprovoked injuries done them, can not fail to recommend you, in the strongest manner, to their favour and protection, without any other support. But, if any other were wanting, you may rest assured of my best assistance with the court of directors, or in any other place, where my good offices may be of use to you .

I wish I could, in return, send you an account of any success of our military operations, in this part of the world, equal to what you have obliged us with. But our misfortune in not being able to do this, does, by contrast set your event in the strongest light. You have my most earnest wishes for the [ ]<sup>9</sup> of your life and health, and for the continuance of your good success for the [advantage]<sup>10</sup> of your country, and your own honour.

Since my coming to town, I have seen my old acquaintance, your father, who is very happy in the reputation his son has gained, and to whose application, for your success, I shall always wary.

I am, with the greatest esteem and truth,

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<sup>6</sup> "King" added letter

<sup>7</sup> "Our" may not be right word

<sup>8</sup> illegible

<sup>9</sup> illegible

<sup>10</sup> "advantage" crossed, altered.

## 24. WILLIAM PITT CALLS ROBERT CLIVE A HEAVEN-BORN GENERAL

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Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, 3 vols, 1758-1767; Extracts vol I, p. 341-345,387-392,392-393; vol III, pp 93-95

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Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the mutiny bill, in December, 1757, after adverting to the recent disgraces which had attended the British arms, said, "We had lost our glory, honour, and reputation every where but in India: there the country had a heaven-born general, who had never learned the art of war, nor was his name enrolled among the great officers who had for many years received their country's pay: yet was he not afraid to attack a numerous army with a handful of men." This extract of Mr. Pitt's panegyric was conveyed to Colonel Clive by his father, who concludes his letter in these words: "thus you are, with truth, honourably spoken of throughout this nation: may you continue to be so, till you return to your native county, and to the embraces of an aged father."

## 25. CLIVE WRITES TO E.I.COMPANY CHAIRMAN AND ADVISES REWARD OF SERVICE IN INDIA TO BE AWARDED IN ENGLAND

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Colonel Clive to John Payne, Esq; Chairman E.I.Co. Calcutta, August 24, 1758: correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, vol I, pp 341-345, Extract

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The New Subah's generosity has put me in a condition of enjoying my native country; We must again take the field in conjunction with him, sometime in October, and march to the north as soon as he is confirmed from Delhi, and acknowledged by the Mahrattas....

A kind of levelling principle reigns among all the inhabitants of this place. The indolence and meekness of spirit of your present governor [Drake] has put him below the meanest inhabitant of Calcutta.

Let temptation be put out of his [Supervisor- general, Governor] reach, by confining his reward to England, and India will become a source of riches and grandeur to the Company and the nation.

Be persuaded, Sir, the above are the sentiments of one whose thoughts are upon England; of one made independent by the Nabob's generosity, who has no friends or relations to serve, or any interest to promote but that of his masters and benefactors.

## 26. THE MUGHAL SHAHZADA COMES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION AND WANTS TO BE PROCLAIMED EMPEROR

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IOL: H. Vansittart, Bengal to Laurence Sullivan: 21.2.1761

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The Royal Duke remained in the river just long enough to carry home the news of the defeat of the shawzada by Major Carnac, and of Mr Law being taken prisoner with the greatest part of the French officers and men under his command.

This success has proved as decisive as we could wish, and this ruinous war which had disturbed the country for three year is at length put an end to. **The Major pursued the Shawzadah so close that the French officers who had escaped surrendered themselves, and many of the chiefs of the country who had joined him quitted his party so that at the end of fifteen days he had no resource left but putting himself under our protection. He sent his principal officer to propose this to the Major, asking first that he might be immediately acknowledged king of Delly, and that the coins might be struck in his name. To this Major replied that such an acknowledgement untill he should be seated on the throne would be vain and useless; that if he would put himself under our protection upon the assurance of safety for his person, and a suitable maintenance, and depending for his future fortunes upon our assistance as far as our circumstances and his own resources might give reasonable hopes of success, that upon such terms he was ready to meet and receive him. Upon this footing he came to our camp, and is now at Patna. A letter I have since received from him and my answer are entered on the proceedings of the Select committee, and as far as I can at present judge there is only one obstacle to our conducting him to the throne of Delly; that is the means of defraying the expence of the expedition without throwing the burthen upon the Company. All other circumstances seem to favour the grand enterprize; Pondicherry taken gives us almost a certainty of having colonel Coote here with his battalion next month; we shall then not want force, and I hope the Shawzada will be able to make a friend of Abdulla who has lately given the Morattas a total overthrow, and taken possession of Shawjehanabad or Delly. I am preparing a general review of the late intrigues and contests for the possession of that capital of the empire, calculated to show the rights of the Shawzada, and what chiefs are likely to join and support him. Shuja Dowla who is appointed Vizir of Abdulla, and is in great favour with him, is much attached to the Shawzada, and may be employed as the means of making Abdulla his friend. The only power that can set up a strong opposition is the Morattas; if the enterprize is resolved on, and they are likely to interrupt it by the number of their forces, the other two presidencies may easily make a diversion to prevent them. To the narrative before mentioned I will annex a short view of the Moratta Government, and of their present state from which it will appear to be no difficult matter to create a diversion among their chiefs which will be the most effectual way of weakening them.\***

If this can be finished in time I will send you a copy by this ship; if not you shall have it by the Lord Anson, and I shall transmit one also to Mr Pigot, and Mr crommelin, that if occasion should require we may act all three upon one plan....

## **16.6.1761**

In my last of the 8th of March I acquainted you that the chief object which I had then in view, was to support the Shawzadah in his pretensions to the throne of Hindostan. In that expectation he has continued with us ever since, but the changes which have happened in the posture of affairs at Delhee, and our disappointment of the means for carrying on that design have obliged us for the present to suspend it.

The Morattas after their defeat on the 15th of January last, had set on foot a vast army and were resolved to exert their whole force in retrieving the disastrous consequences of that battle; Balagee himself intending to conduct the expedition in person. These appearances were so formidable that the Abdulla not chusing to risk the dubious event of another war, by which he had so little to gain, returned to his own dominions, and left his allies to shift for themselves. He declared the Shawzadah king by the name of Shah Aulum.

**27. ROBERT CLIVE TO BRITISH PRIME MINISTER NEWCASTLE ON HIS  
TITLE: 13.10.1761**

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BM : Add Ms 32685 : ff 66r-v ( Authographs 1714-61) ff 69.

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My Lord Duke

I just now learn from Mr Jones that your Grace is desirous of having my intended title in order to put a finishing hand to the honour His Majesty intends me through your Grace's interest.

Being in possession of an estate in Ireland of near 2000 per anum I have given orders to have it called Plassey the name of the place Where we gained our last victory in India to which I owe all my good fortune. If therefore your Grace thinks thers is no impropriety in the thing I propose my title to be, Robert Lord Clive Baron of Plassey in the kingdom of Ireland. But this I submit as well as every thing else to your Grace being with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most devoted and obliged humble servant,

Berkeley Square, 13 October 1761

Robert Clive.

## 28. CASSIM ALI KHAN TURNS HOSTILE c. 1760s

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IOR: Photo Eur 63: George and John Johnstone Correspondence from Pulteney Papers in Henry E Huntington Library, California. J. Johnstone (1734-95) was in Bengal during 1750-65. None from before 1766, in these papers. George Johnstone to Brother William (Pulteney): Feb 3, [1764]

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Dear Willie,

Affairs are again come to a rupture in India, what John has so often foretold is at length come to pass. That treacherous usurper cassim Ali Cawn, encouraged and enabled by the avaricious and yielding conduct of Mr Vansittart hath at length thrown of the mask. Under pretence of a treaty, he invited up to Mungeer (Where we had permitted him to retire) three of the councillors and others. They returned without concluding anything. In returning they were attacked surrounded and all murdered except one whom they conducted to the Nabob to prove his orders had been executed. This was accompanied at the same moment by the surprize of patna when Ellis and 150 whites and 2000 seapoys were made prisoners. Cossimbazar has since been taken by storm Dacca and Fort William were besieged.

The cruel directors had dismissed all their most faithful Servants, and John among the rest notwithstanding all the promises Sullivan (?) had made to James. ..

Half Moon St Feb 3

G. J.



**29. A BRITISH DEPENDANT IS PROCLAIMED MUGHAL EMPEROR c.1760s -  
EVIDENCE BEFORE BRITISH PARLIAMENT COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF  
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
(27 March to 13 April 1767)**

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BM: Add Ms 18469<sup>11</sup> (vols. 18463-9 purchased of J. Newman: Feb 1851)

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**Evidence of:**

- 1) Mr. Henry Vansittart: 27.3.1767; extracts; ff 3r-11v; Madras 1746-60, Bengal 1760-65 as Governor. (see pages 342-345 here)
- 2) Warren Hastings Esq: 31.3.1767; extracts; ff 20r-30v; Bengal 1750-65. (see pages 346-350 here)
- 3) Mr. Macguire Williams: 1.4.1767; extracts; ff 30v-35v: Was 20 years in India from writer to member of council; was chief at Patna during the above referred to period; left India Oct 1763. (see pages 350-354 here)
- 4) Mr. Gregory: 1.4.1767; extracts; ff 35v- 39v; Free Merchant, 20 years in India to February 1766. (see pages 355-355 here)
- 5) Col Coote: 3.4.1767; extracts; ff 40r-45v. (see pages 356-360 here)
- 6) Col Munro. 3.4.1767; ff 46r -49r; extract ff 48v. (see pages 360- 360 here)
- 7) Mr. Charles William Boughton Rouse: 10.4.1767; extracts; ff 65r-76v: 20 years in Direction of E.I.Co.(see pages 360-371 here)

**EVIDENCE BEFORE BRITISH PARLIAMENT COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE  
EAST INDIA COMPANY  
(27 March to 13 April 1767)**

**Evidence of Mr. Henry Vansittart: 27.3.1767 (extracts)**

*Question* : What is the nature of these revenues ?

*Answer*: It arises almost wholly out of the share of the revenue the landholders pay to the Government. It is an arbitrary share the Nabob takes as much as he thinks the country will afford. If the lands are improved he takes more, if they fall short from any accident he takes less. It is paid in money.

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<sup>11</sup> vol 18469 has the following letter preceding the evidence.

Dear Sir, I beg leave to send you substances of the evidence taken before an open committee of the House of Commons on the state of Bengal & c. in 1767. It is taken very imperfect. When you have done with it have the goodness to return it to me. I have....

56 Berners St. the 19th April 1802

Robt Gregory

Sir Hugh Inglis Bart

In Bengal the lands are not for the most part let out to farm but continue in the old inheritors only paying to the Nabob the revenue. Some districts where the old families are fallen off are held in the hands of Government and these are let out to farm.

Q: Are these revenues capable of improvement.?

A: I rather think not, not capable of much improvement.

Q: What revenues do you speak of?

A: Of the countries of Bengal, I do not see a sufficient assurance of any increase, but by taking away the rights of the landholders.

Q: What was the first acquisition obtained in Coromandel?

A: The first grant was in 1750 or 1751 from the son of the nabob.

He gave the Company settlements to the value of 20,000 pounds sterling per annum or thereabouts,

Q: Was this granted in consequence of our success?

A: As an acknowledgement of the protection he had received.

Q: How was the Dewanee obtained ?

A: The grant of Dewanee from the Mogul according to the terms and of the five Sircars was I suppose in return for that part of Shujah Dowla's territories he had been put in possession of and of the revenues to be paid him out of Bengal.

Q: Had not the company an absolute power over the /provinces/ three provinces previous to the grant of the Dewanee?

A: Certainly their forces gave them this power. In every instance I have mentioned the Company might have made the persons they did Nabobs or not.

Q: Was any power left to the Nabob after the treaty and the grant from the Mogul of the Dewanee?

A: I believe it was not intended to leave him any. The power of the purse and the sword were in the Company.

Q: In whose name is the justice of the country now administered?

A: Can't any, but have heard in the name of the Nabob's officers appointed by the Governor and Council (to) collect the revenue.

Q: By What laws?

A: According to the former constitution of the country.

Q: By what rate then are they collected?

A: According to the former rates and addicts.

Q: Have the Company power to augment these rates?

A: Yes, on the improvement of lands they may.

Q: But suppose the Company to act according to the former constitutions.

A: It is still arbitrary, the Company have the same right Nabob had before which was the exact to the last farthing.

Q: How does then religion effect the collection (of) these revenues?

A: The terms of the grant say they shall not take more than half; half to the farmer, half to the government.

Q: If the East India Company should exact more where would the people have redress?

A: They could have none but from the directors of the Company. After the taking of Calcutta the Company lost their whole.

Q: Then by how many battles seizes and deposing of Nabobs did they get it again (no answer)

Q: What was the Company's force in Bengal before the capture of Calcutta?

A: I believe about 250 Europeans but I was not there.

Q: By what force was it recovered?

A: By the kings's and Company's forces, three or four king's ships and a detachment of the king's regiment and sepoy's in Company's pay. The retaking of Calcutta was the beginning of the whole.

Q: What was the situation of the Mogul?

A: The situation of the Mogul was just what the Company pleased...

Q: Was not the Mogul to all intents and purposes a prisoner?

A: If the Company pleased he might have been a prisoner but he was received with respect.

Q: Who is the Mogul defacto ?

A: None at all de facto.

Q: Was the Megul a guest or prisoner with us ?

A: He was received as a guest. The Company`s forces were the protectors of the Country.... In both instances that the Mogul was a guest it was in consequence of a defeat.

Q: Could he be supposed to be at full liberty when he had an English escort?

A: It was that escort that gave him full liberty.

Q: Don't these revenues give the company an opportunity of buying goods cheaper than by any other nations?

A: The people of England will get an advantage by the great influence which (have) their power and authority gives them. The lands the Company held before the grant of the Dewannee did not supply the manufactures. These came from other parts of the Mogul's country.

A: About 2000 tons of saltpetre is annually exported or thereabouts.

Q: If these revenues belong either to the states or Company how can (they) be brought home ?

A: Hitherto the greatest extent of investment in Bengal has been less than 500,000 pounds sterling. But we never found any difficulty of getting goods for any sum of money, but it might be extended to a million in Bengal in raw silk, manufactured silk and calicoes....

Q: Would not the acquisitions be more valuable of the nation had the property and added their weight.?

A: This will always depend on the force actually there whether the nation's or the Company's, for the common purposes of defence the Company's powers are sufficient, but on attacks of European power the king's fleets will be actually necessary.

Q: If the investments can be supplied from the territorial money will it not lessen the exportation of merchandize from hence?

A: There would be always the same demand in Bengal for manufactures of England.

**Evidence of Warren Hastings Esq: 31.3.1767 (extracts)**

Q: Did not the Mogul grant these provinces to Shujah Dowla?

A: I believe he never made a grant of them to Shujah dowla. He pretended so; but he had the King's seal and person in his power and therefore might do what he pleased. when Cossim wa

defeated he fled to Shujah Dowla through necessity. Shujah dowla was defeated in his own country and the whole country reduced by us.

Q: What was the state of the Shahzada?

A: We called him king. He had delivered himself into the hands of the English.

Q: Were not there stipulations made with him to deliver up part of Shujah dowla's dominions to him in support of his dignity?

A: Not while I was there, we allowed him a trifle for his expence.

Q: When was the Dewannee obtained ?

A: Long after he was in the hands of the English.

Q: Was this acquisition voluntary or the effect of force?

A: The materials for such an opinion are public. The transaction has happened since I left Bengal, but in general we must be considered as the masters and governing power of that country for he had neither power nor possession.

Q: Is there not a pretender at Delhi?

A: I believe there may. Delhi has been in possession of successive powers. I believe there is no actual king there now; I think there is no prospect of Shah Allum being reinstated at Delhi.

I suppose the Mogul empire has like other great empires had its course and these states are now so many independent countries.

Q: In short the Company having the purse and the sword and the officers about the Nabob and naming all, having /they the whole> / not

A: Certainly if they have the collections of the revenue and payment of the troops and naming his officers they have all the power. It is possible that they may have all these powers, and yet the nabob left with the executive power which is distinct from the Dewannee, But I suppose the Nabob has no power.

Q: How was Meer Jaffier set up?

A: Lord Clive introduced him formally to the Musnud. But I was at Calcutta. the Company had certainly no territory after the taking of Calcutta. I believe after the battle of Buxar they were in effect masters of Bengal and Behar but they acknowledged the Nabob.

Q: Was not then that territory obtained by force of arms?

A: Yes, and at the repeated risque of all the Company had.

Q: What is the power of the Mogul?

A: I think nothing of the power of the Mogul. There is no king in India. The king we acknowledge has no territory or power, but don't know how far this may invalidate his grants. The Company had very few troops before the taking (of) Calcutta, about two or three hundred men and they not accustomed to war.

Q: Have you not heard that Abdallah on quitting Delhi acknowledged Shah Allum?

A: When he quitted Delhi he acknowledged the father of Shah Allum. The death of Allumgheer was subsequent to this quitting Delhi.

Q: Was not the son of Shah allum declared regent at Delhi when Abdallah quitted it.?

A: I have heard of his being declared regent but I believe not by Abdallah.

Q: Do you imagine the Firmaun of any use to Nabobs or could have been any to the Company?

A: It was of use to them but don't think it would have been to the Company. To them it was because it freed them from the obligation they had to us for without that Firmaun they must have considered it as if held of us.

Q: Did you ever hear of a perpetual grant made by the great Mogul?

A: It can't be, as these grants are given only for life, but it may be given in perpetuity to the company as always existing.

The company is master of the power and may be master of the government, and it is now out of the Nabob's power to control them.

Q: Does not the existence of their trade depend on a proper exertion of that power?

A: Certainly.

Q: Were any of the acquisitions made by the Company's forces alone/

A: Never a time when we were without the King's forces,

Q: Would the Company's troops have been sufficient without the King's forces?

A: I believe the Company had sometimes a force sufficient without junction of King's forces but don't know they could have supported the war. I think they could now support themselves and it would be better now to be without King's troops, on account of disputes.

Q: Was the Dewannee used to be given for life

A: The grant of the Dewannee was always revocable and held only during pleasure and good behaviour and seldom granted for life, but I motioned only that it could not be granted for longer than life.

Q: Is this grant to the Company revocable?

A: The Firmaun at present given to the Company is for every irrevocable by him or his successors.

Q: What is the rule of succession in the Mogul Empire?

A: The rule of succession in the Mogul Empire is that it should go to the family of Tamerlane. There is no particular rule of descent, it has not continued always in elder brothers; sometimes younger brothers have succeeded to the prejudice of the elder. Timur's third son I believe succeeded him.

Q: What then distinguishes which is Mogul?

A: Possession and actual power.

Q: Is the present Mogul in possession?

A: The present mogul is not in possession of a foot of land or a shilling of revenues but what we gave him, except a jaghire he had during his fathers life, but that is a thing held under the mogul.

Q: Does not the Company possess Firmauns in perpetuity from Moguls?

A: Yes I meant to speak of grants of the Dewannee when I said they had not been granted in perpetuity..

Q: Is the grant of the present Dowannee an infringement of any treaty whatever?

A: I don't know on what terms the Company and Nabob are, The transaction has happened since I left India.

Q: Would not the refusal of the 26 Lack be deemed unjust?

A: I don't think so, for there can be (of) no Mogul without power and he has none. Dewannee given no property in soil but the revenue only.

Q: Is not Shah Allum acknowledged Mogul by other powers of Hindostan?

A: We are the only power in India that allow him. Since the time of Aliverdi Cawn things have changed, sometimes the Nabob has paid the tribute an sometimes not; we are not his

natural subjects and therefore it can't be unjust for us to detain this tribute when his subjects do it.

Q: What was the treaty you mentioned restraining the Dutch from keeping above so many troops?

A: The Treaty with the Dutch was made in consequence of the victory obtained over the Dutch. It was made with the Dutch factory....

Q: Were the grants to the Company extorted during war or cessions from allies?

A: The first grant was the Zemindarry of Calcutta, that was from an ally Meer Jaffier by virtue of a treaty by which we agreed to support him in the Subahship. This was on his part a voluntary grant but he had no power to refuse it. We were in treaty together, he agreed to give up this which he did when it was in his power. The next was by Meer Cossim and this cannot in any light be considered as a conquest; we were in peace with the Nabob, but a fixed fund was necessary to supply us without depending on his will.

Q: Were there any antient grants round Calcutta?

A: By Firmaun we are allowed a small district and mention is also made in it of 37 villages but our possessions don't extend above a mile each way. There is mention in the Firmaun of 1717 of villages but what they are I didn't know as we were never in possession of them.

Q: Were the three provinces granted by Cossim Ali before he was Soubah?

A: Yes, and before he expected to be Subah.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Macguire Williams : 1.4.1767** (Extracts)

Q: Did not the servants of the Company insist on the right of trading in salt, beetle and tobacco duty free ?

A: Cant's say they did in salt to trade duty free, I have traded in the name of a Mussulman, paying Mussulman duties. That was our practice. We took out Rowanas in our servants name to avoid giving offence. Some thought they had a right under Firmauns to trade free of duty, others more moderate thought not....

Q: The Dutch would not they be glad to have money for their investments and give bills?

A: I should apprehend they would, its the only method we have left to get our fortunes home. The door of drawing on the East India Company is shut, and this is the only method left. This lending money to the French and dutch was not the practice while I was in the service because We considered it as assisting the French and Dutch and some risque attended it. For there has been difficulty in payment of some of the bills, but the bills have been paid since. This I mention is a private transaction.



Q: What did the Company owe in India?

A: In the course of a year their debt generally amounted to 30 Lacks or 35. At the departure of the ships we granted bills and that decreased the debt to 13 or 14 Lacks about 1/2 and in course of the year it rose up again.

Q: What is the amount of the Dutch investment?

A: I can't say, never heard. But the Dutch is more considerable then the French.

Q: Do the Danes, Dutch and French make their investment with goods or chiefly with money?

A: I apprehend that do as we used to do....

Q: Was you at Patna when the Shahzada was there?

A: Yes, when Shah Allum came to Major Carnac and resided with us.

Q: Did not the Governor in Council write to Major Carnac to present a Nazer to Shah Allum for confirming to us our privileges?

A: Yes, we waited oh the princes and make proposals to him in case we would carry him to Delhi and put him on the throne. It was proposed to him that he should confirm our grants from Nabobs and the jaghire to Lord Clive.

Q: Was there any confirmation?

A: He was not then declared Mogul by the powers above. Afterwards he gave me rupees coined in his name and the acknowledgements of the Great Mogul is striking Siccas in his name. We escorted Shah Allum to Caramnassa in 1761.

Q: Did not Shujah Dowla his vizier receive him there?

A: Yes on the other side of the Caramnassa.

Q: Were not arzies presented to Shah Allum to confirm us in our Privileges?

A: I believe (? We) did present some arzies for confirming our possessions and privileges.

Q: Was the Dewannee then offered on paying the usual peshcush?

A: I have heard it was, and prior to that he sent us word that if we would support him in his rights to the throne there was a *charte blanche* for us.

Q: Did he then confirm to us our possessions and Privileges?

A: Yes, all.

Q: Did he not give for reason that when the usual peshcush was sent he would grant the Dewannee?

A: I don't remember particularly. the peshcush is a trifling thing, only an acknowledgement, that of Bengal is only 2,500 Rs. The rupees were coined in Calcutta Mint in the name of Shah Allum, and at the time I left India, I never heard of their being coined in any other Mogul's name.

Q: Did not the Abdallah on leaving Delhi acknowledge Shah Allum as Mogul?

A: I never heard. The Shahzada was the son of Allum Gheer. His father was put to death by his vizier on which he fled to the Bengal provinces for protection. He was received by Shujah Dowla. Afterwards Major Carnac pursued them and the Shahzada Sayid if would grant him terms he would come to us. He came to Patna. Shahzada was at the head of the French troops commanded by Mr. Law.

Q: Was he in possession of any territory at the time of making these grants?

A: No, only the whole empire considered him as their prince.

Q: Why then was he not on the throne?

A: I was told by a gentlemen that Delhi was entirely deserted for 30 miles round, and to consider him as prince he must be at Delhi. Sicca rupees passed through the whole government and they were carried in his name.

Q: Was not that for the Conveniency of the Company?

A: They might coin them in the name of the Mogul, but Sicca rupees in his name I had prior to those coined in the Company's Mint.

Q: Is that the whole of your reason for thinking him emperor?

A: He told me there was a son of his in the hands of Musseeum Dowla who expected to be his vizier. He himself was in the hands of Shuja Dowla who will not part with him.

Q: What revenue had he then?

A: Not any at that time.

Q: Did the Great Mogul ever coin a single rupee of his own money?

A: I never heard he had a mint.

Q: Have not you heard 26 Lacks is reserved to the Mogul of the revenues?

A: Yes have heard so.

Q: Why has there been that reservation if we are equally in possession of the country without, as with his grant?

A: It gives a good sanction to our holding it.

Q: Why is that reservation to the Nabob?

A: The company are only Dewan and not Nabob because they would not assume that title. If the sum granted to the Mogul should be taken away, it would be considered by the country people as unjust.

Q: Could the Mogul and Nabob together take the Dewannee from the Company?

A: No, I apprehend they could not.

Q: What districts were granted by the Nabob to the English in consideration of succour granted, and making him Subah?

A: The land to the southward of Culcutta.

I can't say what it stood then in the books, it let afterwards to 7 lacks of rupees.

Q: Before it was so put up to auction did it amount to so much?

A: Never let for that sum before, only between 2 or 3 Lacks as I have heard.

Q: Of what does the revenue consist?

A: Principal part in salt as I have understood and revenue arising from that was granted to Lord Clive....

Q: How are the revenues collected?

A: We appointed one of the Company's servants to collect the revenues of Burdwan, who employed black servants under him.....

Q: Is not there a law that no person should raise above a certain sum?

A: I never heard there was, it is in the power of the Rajah to raise what he pleases, it is a most despotick power, the Company generally put their lands up at public sale and therefore they will rise.

**Evidence of Mr. Gregory: 1.4.1767** (Extracts)

Q: To what amount might the trade from Bengal be increased?

A: The whole amount of exports from Bengal to all parts of the world is about two million sterling. I speak this as a computation of an average of 7 years. I mean to Europe, Malabar, Coromandel, Moco, China, Mallacca, and all the parts we trade to.

...Bengal does not want goods to the amount of the export. Imports in a year do not amount to above 800,000 pound sterling of goods into Bengal.

...I should imagine after the people are in security, the revenues may be improved some small matters; I have heard of improvements made in Burdwan country by Company, improvements and by lands taken from the Bramins, and they came for redress as I have heard. The lands about Calcutta have been improved by increase of inhabitants, in that town house rent is increased to double from this circumstance. The revenues may certainly be increased when the people are secure in their properties.

Q: What becomes of all the money that for many years has been carrying into Bengal?

A: There is also a great quantity of plate made up by the natives and much sent to Benares as a place of security...Benares belongs to Shujah Dowla.

Q: Why is then a place of security?

A: It is a sacred city-held so by the natives.

**Evidence of Col Coote: 3.4.1767.** (Extracts)

Q: By whom was the expense of that expedition born ?

A: I have heard the whole expense against Pondicherry was born by Nabob of Arcot, the naval service perhaps not, but every thing that could be charged to him was, and I have heard he has cleared it off, he was clearing it when I left that country. I went to Bengal by the Kings orders to command the troops there. I came soon after Cossim Ali was made Soubah. I had nothing to say to that.

I went up the country to command the army.

When I arrived the Shahzada was at Patna. There had been several disputes between the commanding officers and the chief of the Factory and it was thought requisite that I should go to settle matters.

I had no military engagement there. I was ordered to proclaim Shahzada sometime in 1762 by Governor and Council. I ought to remember the day as I declared his present majesty one day and the Mogul to the next.

Q: Have the country powers made any grants but through force and violence?

A: If we had no force we should have but little revenue.

Q: From whom did you receive orders?

A: I kept up a correspondence with the Governor and Council; what they recommended I followed, if it did not interfere with military operations.

Q: Had not you instructions from the Governor of Bengal?

A: I had instructions from Mr. Vansittart when I went up; I had no orders from hence to obey the Governor of Bengal. My orders from hence were to act for the good of the service of His Majesty and the Company.

I understood we were sent out to assist the Company and to cooperate with them. I went up the country contrary to my own inclination.

Q: Why were you sent against your inclinations?

A: The country was in confusion by parties between Shahzada, Ram Narain and the later Nabob Cossim and I did not think it necessary that I should go in so bad a state of health.

Q: What were your orders from hence?

A: My instructions may be found at the war office. I had no orders to consult with the Company's servants in military operations.

Q: Could you make any operations independent of the Company?

A: No. Nothing but for the service of the Company. I looked on the King's service and Company's as the same there.

Q: Was you sent from England to India?

A: I was sent as Lt Colonel and commandant of the 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment and by the return of General Draper and Laurence it devolved to me. They had left the country before I arrived. I become commander in chief as oldest officer but had no commission as such. I had no instructions from Secretary of State. There were instructions to Col Draper from the War Office much the same as mine; and some prior to General Aldercorn. I corresponded regularly with the Secretary of State and Secretary at War.

Q: What did you understand was your duty there?

A: I understood I was to cooperate with the Company; they thought it was to be implicit obedience. I cannot answer how Col Draper and other officers understood it. I had a letter in which there was an extract of another letter which said that the Company were to be looked on as princes and the king's forces as auxiliaries. I have the copy of that in some of the Governor and Council's correspondence to me. I believe the extract was from a letter to General Aldercorn on a dispute between the king's troops and the Company's.

I staid in Bengal 12 months after the Shahzada's proclamation. Cossim Ali Proclaimed him. I was just a sort of Second in it but I obliged him to it in some measure. I was determined it should be done as I had given my word for it to the Governor and be done as I had given my word for it to the Governor and Council. He first acceded to it then he refused it and then I insisted on it, as thinking it was the promise of my country. I had orders for doing it from Governor and Council for that purpose.

Q:Where was this?

A: At patna.

Q:On what day?

A: I cannot recollect.

Q:Was he proclaimed at Murshedabad?

A: I don't recollect.

Q:Where was Cossim Ali at that time?

A: At Patna. There was Rupees coined in his name in Bengal.

Q:What in our Mint?

A: I don't know, I sent some of the coin to the king and also to the Governor and Council.

Q:Did not Cossim Ali receive sunnuds from Shah Allum?

A: I cannot tell whether at that time he did. During my stay in India he did, but not I believe at that particular time. The Nabob said he should propose to the king to grant sunnuds. My objection was to his asking it at that time that we had also grants and the consequence of receiving those sunnuds would have been acknowledged on crossing the Caramnessa.

Q:If Meer Cossim had persisted in his refusal what would you have done ?

A: I can't say, perhaps he would not have been proclaimed in his camp. I should have had him proclaimed.

Q:What was your objection to Cossim Ali's asking the sunnuds at that time?

A: For fear he should have the supreme command in the province. The objection to the proposal for granting the sunnud at that time was that we had not acknowledged him king, therefore there could be no validity in those sunnuds. I put him off till he got out of the province for fear he should have the principal power, but promised him and the Nabob at the same time to proclaim him when he should cross the Caramnassa.

Q:Would he not have derived that power from us?

A: He would have derived his supreme power in the province from us as soon as acknowledged; from our force.

Q:What do you mean by that? Whether that power so obtained would have been from our force alone?

A: I believe so. I can't say what interest he might have gained in the country by being acknowledged but our force must have supported him.

Q:Was not our force superior to every thing that could be brought against it there?

A: I believe it might. There was no other power than Cossim Ali except Shujah Dowla.

Q:Might not we by the same power have unkinged him again?

A: I would not have done it nor been concerned in it. After we had acknowledged him we were surely bound in morality and honour. There were reciprocal oaths given and taken.

Q:What other powers acknowledged him shah Allum?

A: Shujah Dowla; I had a letter from him that he had before we proclaimed him. I don't recollect any other power.

#### **Evidence of Col Munro. 3.4.1767**

Q:In accepting the Firmaun from Shah Allum, did not you consider him as the rightful prince of the country by lawful succession?

A: I did as nominally Mogul, some look on him as such, and others his son, who now is in power. Shah Allum is I believe the right heir but he has no power of his own more than I have.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Charles William Boughton Rouse: 10.4.1767**

Q:Did the court of directors receive regular accounts of the military operations?

A: Undoubtedly.

Q:Were they laid before a general court at any time?

A: No- not unless they were called for; that would be improper as it would be a means of sending it all over Europe, the court consisting of proprietors of all nations But if they insist on it we must produce them.

Q:Had not the directors then a great advantages of buying and selling stock ?

A: Undoubtedly they had; and therefore it must depend on the honesty of the persons trusted. I have been long in the direction and had the earliest intelligence from Lord Clive in cypher as he did not know who might be in the direction, which I delivered up to the secretary immediately.

.. The allowance to a counsellor is not very considerable.

They are appointed chiefs to different Factories, and from thence their profit arises.

Q:What is your opinion as to the solidity and permanency of these conquests?

A: I think it depends principally on the government of their servants. If they are brought under proper regulation it may be, in all probability preserved. But I am unacquainted with the country, and can form no judgement but from those materials which are before the House.

Q:Are not the Company's servants then under good government ?

A: Great licentiousness has been certainly, and great fortunes acquired, and we are persecuted at for doing our duty. We are endeavouring to come at the truth, not from prejudice, or resentment, and have brought bills in chancery for that purpose. Our wealth has been flung into foreigners hands which has affected our sales, and that wealth has been now used to get possession of the Company here.

Q:What do you mean that?

A: By possessing themselves of large quantities of stock and splitting it.

Q:What is the remedy for that?

A: There have been several petitions to this House to Prevent it. I hope there will be a still further application to that purpose.

Q:What is the quantity of stock in the hands of foreigners?

A: Foreigners are possessed probably a million of our stock. I once made an enquiry and guess it to be thereabouts.

Q:May not this be an infinite injury to the nation?

A: Certainly, and I believe such practices have prevailed. The Dutch and the French will certainly take every opportunity to prejudice the Company, and therefore the less their circumstances are exposed, the better.

Q:From what does the Dewannee arise?



A: The Dewannee is part duties and part quit rents.

Q:Can the revenues be collected without force?

A: Not absolutely without force. But more than in this country, because its an arbitrary country.

Q:From what did the great increase of the French sales proceed?

A: The great importations into France and Holland have been generally understood to be owing to the money lent to them by our servants in India.

Q:If you could not be able to invest all the revenue, can't you get it home?

A: Experience must shew that; certainly to drain the country of specie must be hurtful. We are looking cut for expedients. We have already given orders to extend it in every possible method.

Q:Is it not possible to let the foreign East India Company's have the money in the manner the Company's servants have done?

A: I apprehend they would be very glad of it, and I have had an overture from France to that purpose, but it would be attended with great prejudice, as it would both interfere with our trade; and at the same time prevent the influx of silver.

Q:Is the Company then secure in their present establishment?

A: I think we are well prepared, as having an establishment of 2,600 Europeans at Bengal, and the same number on the coast of Coromandel, and we have sent 100 men this year, in case of accidents.

Q:If the revenue belonged to the Government would they find a greater difficulty, than the Company to remit it home?

A: I apprehend its impossible to bring it home but by merchandise.

Q:If it belonged to the Government would not the Company be glad to take it at a small interest?

A: Every man would be glad to have it at a small interest, but I can't suppose the Government can have money to lend there. Undoubtedly if we wanted money, we should be glad of a low interest.

Q:Have not the Company usually borrowed money of their own servants?

A: I believe they have. The misfortune is, that the servants have had too much to lend. Interest is now 8 % I think.

Q:If the whole 9 million of tea, has been, put up to sale, would it not have sold cheaper?

A: It would have been to the prejudice of the Government. It could not have been sold at 1 shilling per pound, and the Government would have lost their Duty, as it would have been put out of the hands of the Company, into the hands of the buyers. I can only say, as to this, that Bohea (?) tea at the present price for 100 sterling which comes into the treasury of the company the Government receive 130 pound sterling for every 2d a pound profit to the Company the Government receive 2s 6d.

Q:If the 1s (shilling) duty was taken off, and the valorem duty increased 10% would it not increase the consumption and prevent smuggling?

A: I have applied to many chancellors of the exchequer with a view to obtaining a drawback.....

Q:Don't you apprehend to pay that money you must sink into the capital?

A: I make no doubt of it; because they are fair cessions; if they were conquests, it might be different.

Q:Have you taken the opinion of lawyers of this point?

A: We as court of directors thought we should not be justified in taking the opinion of lawyers, because it would be shewing some doubt.

Q:Have not these doubts been owing to military expences?

A: Extensive military operations certainly brought on great expence, but we should have lost the whole, if we had not.

Q:Would it not be for the advantage of the Company, to be less addicted to war and more for trade?

A: We wish for peace undoubtedly.

Q:Can you be secure without the assistance of the Government?

A: The assistance of the Government would be necessary in a war, and then his majesty protects all his subjects, equally in their trade, -West Indies & c.

Q:Is there not in your charter an express stipulation that the Government is to be at no expence?

A: I believe there is against the natives, but on a declaration of war, with European powers, when we are involved in consequence of that, it can't be supposed we are to bear the whole expence.

Q:Is there any monopoly in the West Indies?

A: It was thought right to give us a monopoly for the benefit of the nation, and indeed I think the trade cannot be carried on without it. There are many places where the East India Company do not carry on trade.

Q:Would not adventurous merchants go thither?

A: Adventurous merchants mixing with us, might so interrupt us, as to put an end to our trade. There are no merchants in China.

Q:Might not a private merchant then go thither?

A: They might.

Q:Might not a private merchant then go thither?

A: They might.

Q:What is the best plan for securing the nation these provinces

A: I think the best plan would be an equitable participation; to make it the joint interest of the public, and the Company, and to prevent all jealousies. and that consideration suggests the mode I have proposed.; for I think stipulating the payment of certain sums would be attended with danger, and I own, I think the Company are entitled to be secure in the first instance, from that expence and danger and risque which they have run, I should wish a reasonable participation.

Q:Will the Company without that participation be able to secure those revenues?

A: I don't say that participation would make it a joint interest Q:™ If you were capable of securing them without the aid of Government, would you then think it right?

I think it their natural interest, for if the Company were immensely rich, they would and ought to be subject to taxations. The mode we have offered, is the least exceptionable, because it may be ascertained with the least difficulty, and is attended with no vexation.

Q:What was the Company possessed of by Firmaun before 1748?

A: Some originally, but not extensive. The amount of the revenue before 1748 was inconsiderable.

Q:If this revenue does not belong to the company, would not the Company be ready to farm it of the Government for two or three years at a moderate rate?

A: I should be very cautious how I did it; if I did bargain I should do it as guarding against all risques.

Q:Are there not rich men in India shroffs, and others, that would farm it?

A: There have been very rich men there; but they probably have been injured by distraction in the country.

Q:But would not the Company be glad to farm it?

A: I have never turned my thoughts to farming an estate that belongs to me.

Q:Is it not usual for the Company to farm out particular parts?

A: Yes.

Q: Then would not the Government do the same?

A: They might.

Q:Can no proportion thereof be brought home without draining the country?

A: It is impossible to say without experience- and we are trying the experiment by sending money from thence to China.

Q:If the revenues belong to the public, would they not lend it to the East India Company to invest in manufactures, on which they would be gainers, and then lend the rest to foreigners?

A: They might.

Q:If it belonged to the Company could it be disposed of any other way?

A: It must be surely in the same way.

Q:Who took Calcutta?

A: Lord Clive had the command.

Q:Was it simply conducted by the Company's servants or were the king's forces employed?

A: I believe there was some of the king's forces and a fleet.

Q:Who command at the taking of Chandernagore?

A: Admirals Watson and Pocock, and the forces under the command of Lord Clive took Chandernagore. The effects of that capture annihilated the French forces in India.

Q:Who commanded against Cossim Ali?

A: Major Adams- a King's officer, Colonel Munro also a king's officer, commanded at the battle of Buxar.

Q:What was the opinion of the court of directors, and of the President and Council there on the consequences of that battle?

A: It appeared in a good light.

Q:Did they not say the Company could not have existed without it?

A: We expressed ourselves with gratitude, but I can't speak to the particular terms.

Q:Do you think if there had not been armaments in India and battles successfully fought, the Company would have had these revenues and territories?

A: If success had not attended our arms we should not.

Q:Would the Mogul have been so free in giving if success had not attended the arms?

A: As to that the Company have been led into a tedious and expensive war, and not of our own seeking. After repeated battles at an immense hazard and expence we became superior. Few of the princes of that country but are in a critical situation, and we being so powerful they seek their own interest in being allied to us. But as to the grant of great Mogul for he is such, because the coin is struck in his name throughout Indostan; both the Nabob and the Mogul consider themselves as securer and happier in our alliance than without it. And if it was to do again, I dare say he had rather be under our protection than without it.

Q:Since the coin has been struck in his name; has he not been refused protection from us?

A: Things are now in a different situation they were for some time.

Q:Had colonel Munro ever any considerable reward offered him after the battle of Buxar?

A: The army had 25 Lacs of rupees.

Q:But had he no present from the Mogul ?

A: He had a grant of a Lach of rupees from the Mogul. He told me so.

Q:Was it a jaghire?

A: It was an annual allowance.

Q:Do you ever remember any application made to the court of directors in consequence of that.

A: He has spoke personally to me. It has never been taken into consideration by the general court....

Q:How many Europeans are there in the Company's service in India?

A: There are 6,800 Europeans or rather more through(out) India

Q:Then reckoning 7,500 men in all; has it occurred what loss is annually out of this,, is it a third or a fourth?

A: Sometimes more sometimes less, there has been a great mortality Lord Clive proposed barracks. I think there is not 1/3 in the whole last year. we have sent 1,000 this year.

Q:Do you know of any considerable number returned, or of any settlement there?

A: Not many return.

Q:Is it not for the interest of the military servants to create revolutions? Do they not thereby enrich themselves?

A: Undoubtedly.

Q:Can they enrich themselves any other way?

A: Not so suddenly certainly, and sudden fortunes are prejudicial to the community as they are acquired without labour and industry.

The quick succession must also hurt us in being obliged to send persons not so well acquainted with the country.

Q:Has the Company power sufficient to check that?

A: We did intimate a wish for more extensive powers over our servants, but several of the gentlemen on the other side handled us very roughly for that at the general court.

Q:But is that your opinion?

A: As to your servants in trade we must go into the exchequer. And that is no satisfaction. As to carrying out military stores that must be injurious, as falling into an enemy's hands, and they may dispose of them to country powers, but that must be very prejudicial, as it strikes at the very being of the Company, and such a servant deserves more punishment than dismissal.

Q:What proportion of the revenues of india would come to the nation on participation of half;; is it more than 175,000 pound sterling a year?

A: Not according to your state of it.

Q:Won't this nation lose a great deal by lowering duties?

A: In regard to that if it was put on a proper establishment. I think it would increase the revenues, and operate very soon. In regard to partition (?), I said before the Company / cipa risked their very existence and been at an enormous expence & c . I stated whether the Company should not be secured a sum equal to the present profits.

Q:What are the present profits?

A: 400,000 pound sterling a year.

Q:Are there not present profits likewise secured?

A: I think there can't be a fairer way then on result of the sales. the public are now already in the participation of the trade; it is now every article under the lock and inspection of the customhouse officer, to calculate the duty which is very complex. the present mode is the same, as if the participation was made on the result of the sales , only deducting freight, customs & c.

Q:Does the Government now ask the nature of the investment?

A: No--nor would that be necessary on a participation, only that the company would be liable to be called upon if not having done their duty. It was said the Behar revenues were enhanced 4 of 5 Lach, but it was carried so high that it fell again.

Q:Do you remember Mr Syke's letter?

A: Then may not the 2,400,000 pound sterling more from this account ?

Q:When this letter come ?

A: I believe this letter come before this statement.

Yes, I think he said it could be still increased to 30 Lacks.

Q:Then why was it not communicated to the house of Commons?

A: I believe we obeyed the order of the House. But that letter said only there was an expectation it would be raised, but I don't know indeed when the letter was received.

Q:Was not that part of the correspondence relating to the revenues?

A: Yes.

Q:Then why was it omitted?

A: If it is I am sorry for it.

Q: Is there not a letter from Lord Clive calling the Company proprietors of the soil?

A: I can't charge my memory with the expressions; it was read in the general court.

Q: Was that not a letter part of which now lies upon the table?

A: I can't remember.

Q: Was it not part of a letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of November?

A: I can't answer all these particulars of letters and extracts on my memory. I can only say that our attention to this business has been very great, I spent two days in it in order fully to obey the orders of the house, I don't know anything was omitted.

Q: Did not you say bringing home the revenues would ruin the trade?

A: No. bringing home the revenues I said would ruin the profits of the trade itself.

BM: ADD Ms 18469:

### **List of Persons Examined 27 March to 13 April 1767.,**

1. Henry Vansittart: 27.3.1767 (ff 2r -11v); Madras 1746-60, Bengal 1760-5.
2. J.E.Holwell: 30.3.1767(ff 12r-19v): Bengal 1731-51; 1751-61. 31.3.1767 (ff20r) Correction on investment
3. Warren Hastings : 31.3.1767 (ff 20r-30v); Bengal 1750-65.
4. Maoguire Williams.: 1.4.1767 (ff 30v-39v); 20 years to Feb 1766; Free merchant.
5. Gregory (Robt?) 1.4.1767 (ff 35v-39v) 20 years to Feb 1766; Free Merchant.
6. Col Coote: 3.4.1767 (ff 40r-45v) Bengal Oct 1759 - Nov 1762(?).
7. Sir Sam Cornish: 3.4.1767 (ff 45v-46r) : Taking of Pondicherry.
8. Col Munro (Hector); 3.4.1767 (ff 46r-49r)
9. Capt Staples : 3.4.1767 (ff 49r-v); (Bengal - Feb 1766)
10. Theophilus Dorrington: 8.4.1767 (ff 49r-v) : (Bengal -Feb 1766)
11. Mr. Dudley [ ] 9.4.1767 (ff 56v-64v) ; Chairman EI Co. Chief Tellicherry; 10 years.
12. Mr. Rouse [ ] : 9.4.1767 (ff 65r 76v) In direction Twenty years; Never been in India.
13. Mr. James [ ] 13.4.1767 (ff 77r -84 r) Secretary EI Co.
14. Mr George Oldmixon: 13.4.1767 (ff 84r -86r) : Auditory EI Co.